



PHD

**A policy inquiry into the development of Business Studies
within the curriculum in England focussing on the
transmission of implicit and explicit values within 'A' Level and GNVQ Advanced
Business Studies**

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**A policy inquiry into the development of Business Studies
within the curriculum in England focussing on the
transmission of implicit and explicit values within ‘A’ Level
and GNVQ Advanced Business Studies.**

Volume 1 of 1

Maxine Melena Wells

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

Department of Education

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ABSTRACT

This thesis identifies the nature of the values that students hold about business and whether they are acquired through education; the uniformity of the transmission/communication process is addressed. The study traces the views of policy makers and teachers in the policy chain, interviews students and observes classroom interactions in a longitudinal study. The research has been conducted at a time of increasing student numbers on Business Studies courses and during an on-going debate about the sources of values students hold about business.

A distinction is drawn between the values intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism and the values that students espouse enabling insight as to whether students are taught and hold Anglo-American capitalist values or not. Other sources of values such as gender and students' part-time jobs are considered.

Seven policy makers (individuals influencing the creation of the 'hidden' or 'overt' curriculum) and four groups comprising 'A' level and GNVQ Advanced in Business Studies students and their respective teachers participated in the research.

The study draws the following conclusions: students, typically, see profit as the primary business objective and this view is framed by the values intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism, with other values such as customer service seen as 'instrumental' in the pursuit of profitability. Values intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism were not directly being transmitted down the policy chain; however, work socialisation values were. The students were able to distinguish between their own personal values and those of business organisations; their personal values often conflicted with those of business. Factors extraneous to education, for example, students' part-time jobs appear to have a greater influence over their knowledge of business values than that of their teachers. The students often expressed scepticism at business activities, despite no clear evidence that teachers 'transmit' anti-business sentiments. Gender had some influence on the values that students held.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

This thesis is entitled: ‘A policy inquiry into the development of Business Studies within the Curriculum in England focusing on the question of the transmission of implicit and explicit ‘values’ within ‘A’ level and GNVQ Advanced Business Studies’.

The study can be seen as significant for at least three reasons. Firstly, there have been two positions in educational research about the role of education in the transmission and inculcation of values. The first has claimed that schools can transmit successfully the values associated with capitalism, while the second assumes that there are competing values that schools have to address which have their sources in other elements of society such as the family, religion and the socialisation related to gender. The origins of these opposing positions can be seen in the work of Marx and Durkheim but more recently has been associated with the writings of neo-Marxists such as Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Apple (1982; 1990). In contrast, there have been many writers that have considered that students can be agents rather than passive recipients of the transmission of a dominant culture and that schools can provide the context in which students can consider critically the nature of conflicting values. However, in both cases, writers have tended to assume rather than show empirically how education relates to the values students hold. To my knowledge this is the first longitudinal enquiry of business values students hold and the role of education, including policy makers and teachers, in communicating those values.

This thesis qualifies the account of capitalism given by neo-Marxists such as Bowles and Gintis (1976) by arguing that there are different kinds of capitalism, which presuppose different values. This study focuses on Anglo-American capitalism and the values that are presupposed by it. The study is, therefore, framed by the question of whether students hold views which are consistent with the values presupposed by

Anglo-American capitalism or whether they have different values and if so, what they might be.

Secondly, the question of the values, with respect to capitalism, that might be transmitted has been made prominent by the rise of Business Studies. Whereas this was once a minor element within the curriculum it has now assumed greater significance. But in the English case, there is an extra dimension to the question of education and the transmission of values that is raised by the debate about the nature of the cultural assumptions made about business. In this debate it has been suggested that there is a fundamental anti-business culture (Wiener, 1981; Barnett, 1986). If this is the case, then the question arises, has the past decade seen a fundamental shift in culture with the vocationalisation of education and the rise in popularity of Business Studies. Again, this debate raises the need for empirical studies about the values young people hold, and whether education is the source of such values.

Thirdly, business values have assumed a higher profile with the credit crunch and what appears to be a global economic recession. This economic crisis started in the financial centres of Anglo-American capitalism and it has raised questions about its values with respect to short-termism and what the Governor of the Bank of England sees as the greed of executives in the finance sector. For example in a recent speech made to the British Bankers Association, London (10th June 2008), Mervyn King (Governor of the Bank of England) tries to provide an explanation for financial crises with reference to the nature of financial markets and ‘human nature’:

‘Are these repeated crises the inevitable result of human nature at work in financial markets, with greed and fear alternating as sentiment swings from irrational optimism to irrational pessimism?’ (p.2).

The study comprises two elements; the first element sets the context for the research. This element traces the ‘development of Business Studies within the curriculum in England’ from a historical, socio-economic and educational perspective. The second element will concentrate upon the relationship of education to the values students acquire in relation to the values presupposed by Anglo-American capitalism. Education

here will include an examination of the role of both the overt and hidden curriculum within 'A' level and GNVQ Advanced Business Studies.

The empirical element of the thesis starts by looking at the top of the policy chain by asking the question of whether there has been consensus amongst key policy makers as to whether values should be explicitly taught in the business curriculum and if so what form such values should take and, if so, how they should be interpreted by both teachers and students. This is followed by a study of teachers' views as to the values they think they should communicate as well as observations in classrooms and extensive interviews with their students. In this respect the thesis seeks to trace the intentions of policy makers down the policy chain into the classroom to see how those intentions are reinterpreted and changed. A key aspect of this approach is to ask to what extent teachers and the curriculum have an influence on the espoused values of A-Level and GNVQ students as they relate to Business Studies and the world of work. The study is longitudinal using multiple methods of research enquiry to assess whether and in what ways the overt and hidden curriculum influences students' understanding of business values.

The research questions to be addressed within this study are as follows:

- i) What business values do students hold?
- ii) To what extent can the development and/or acquisition of these values be explained by their education?
- iii) Are there differences in gender in terms of the business values held by students (see Chapter One for a discussion).

2. An overview - Business Studies and the curriculum

The National Curriculum was introduced into England and Wales in 1988 under the Education Reform Act; Moon (1995, p.1) describes its introduction as:

'One of the most significant educational reforms this century. It is a public statement about the syllabus and content that every child should study until he or she leaves school'.

At the time of its introduction it received much criticism, Basini (1996, p.2) describes it as being bureaucratic in nature, its development lacked teacher consultation, too much emphasis was placed upon its content and assessment and that its, *'curriculum structure was an obsolete grammar school type subject-based one'*. Whitty (1990, p.25) argues that it was contrary to the ideal of *'free market forces'* and Lawton (1996, p.13) described it as, *'a top-down, political-bureaucratic programme imposed on teachers who were marginalized by the whole of the 1988 Act'*.

The National Curriculum initially comprised ten subjects that pupils were required to study at school (until the age of sixteen). Three core subjects (English, Mathematics and Science) and seven foundation subjects (Art, Geography, History, Modern Languages, Music, Physical Education and Technology). Therefore in 1988, Business Studies was not part of the National Curriculum.

The 1988 Educational Reform Act was reviewed in 1993 and a report was published in 1994 by Sir Ron Dearing, making changes to the original Act, the revised National Curriculum was then introduced in August 1995. Under the revised National Curriculum, at the age of fourteen to sixteen, History, Geography, Art and Music were no longer compulsory. The compulsory subjects to be studied include, English, Mathematics, Science, Physical Education, Design and Technology and IT. Additionally students could study new subjects at GCSE, which are not part of the National Curriculum, for example Economics, Business Studies and Classical Studies.

In 1995 when the revised National Curriculum was implemented in England and Wales, Business Studies could be taught to fourteen to sixteen year olds at Key Stage

Four, subject to its availability within their school. Lawton (1996, p.13) considered the revised National Curriculum to be an improvement upon the original 1988 version:

'The real value of the Dearing Review – as we shall see – was that teachers were not only consulted but listened to, and more space was provided for teachers to develop school curricula professionally.'

The most recent development, within the timeframe of this research, within the National Curriculum has been the 'Curriculum 2000' initiative. Under this initiative, the National Curriculum core subjects remain unchanged; by law from August 2001 these subjects have to be taught up to and including Key Stage Four (age fourteen to sixteen). History, Geography, Art and Design and Music are classified as National Curriculum non-core foundation subjects and by law have to be taught up to Key Stage Three, students can opt to take them onto Key Stage Four if they desire. Physical Education, also classified, as a non-core foundation subject from August 2001 has to be taught by law up to and including Key Stage Four. Modern foreign languages also fall into this category and from August 2001 should be taught, by law, during Key Stages Three and Four. One of the most significant changes under Curriculum 2000 was the introduction of a new non-core foundation subject, Citizenship. From August 2002, all students during Key Stages Three and Four are required to study this subject.

Under Curriculum 2000 students may opt to study a new subject at Key Stage Four, for example Business Studies. Additionally students are required to study PSHE and Religious Education.

2.1. The rise of Business Studies

In September 2002 Vocational GCSE's were introduced into the curriculum. Therefore, if their school is offering this subject on their timetable, when pupils reach Key Stage Four they have the option of studying for a GCSE in Business Studies or for a Vocational GCSE in Business Studies.

Table 1.1: shows the number of GCSE Business Studies entrants between the years of 1991 and 2001. It can be seen from the table that the number of pupils studying Business Studies reached a peak in 1994 at 135,469 a 36% change between 1991 and 1994. The 1994 figure then decreased to a level of 104,391 in 2001. Overall the number of pupils studying GCSE Business Studies increased by 5% between 1991 and 2001.

Table 1.1: The number of GCSE Business Studies entrants 1991 –2001

Year	Number Of Entries
1991	99,670
1992	119,989
1993	129,499
1994	135,496
1995	103,341
1996	115,198
1997	115,059
1998	101,047
1999	101,678
2000	101,195
2001	104,391

Source: QCA Website – www.qca.org.uk

It is interesting to note that many ‘topics’ included within the content of the GCSE Business Studies syllabus are also constituents of the Citizenship syllabus (introduced September 2002).

The National Curriculum Ct¹ 2000, Citizenship at Key Stages 3 and 4, Initial guidance for schools, published by QCA (2000, p.13), says that:

¹ Abbreviation for Citizenship

'Aspects of the programmes of study for Citizenship may be taught within and through other subjects, curriculum areas and GNVQ courses. Examples include...economic and financial issues in mathematics and Business Studies'.

The guide goes on to state, *'business studies and economics: financial capability; and knowledge and understanding of economic systems'* (p.14) constitute an *'explicit link'* with Citizenship.

The contents of the Citizenship syllabus, as described within the above guide, also subscribes to enhancing *'Community Links'*, for example with businesses and financial institutions as, *'such links also reinforce the work-related learning in the school'* (p.17).

The contents of another brochure published jointly by QCA and the Department of Education and Employment (1999, pp.7-8) entitled, *'Citizenship, The National Curriculum for England, Key Stages 3 - 4'*, mentions several areas of the curriculum that Citizenship will promote, these areas include:

'Financial capability, through developing pupils' understanding of the nature and role of money in society and developing skills in its use' (p.7).

'Enterprise and entrepreneurial skills, through developing pupils' understanding of the importance of these skills for a thriving economy and democracy' (p.7).

'Work-related learning, through helping pupils to appreciate the link between learning and work for a thriving economy and society' (p.8).

The reference to Citizenship and Business Studies is made because it shows how pervasive the importance of business is seen to be for the wider life of students and it raises the question of whether the values presupposed by both are compatible.

2.2. Business Studies from 16-18

Prior to 1992 if a student wished to study Business Studies at school between the ages of sixteen and nineteen the route taken would be to study for a GCE 'A' level in Business Studies. It can be seen from Table 1.2: that 21,982 students entered for a GCE 'A' level in 1992/3, this figure rose by 51%, reaching a total of 33,177 entries in 1999/0.

Table 1.2: GCE A-level entries of all candidates in all Schools and Further Education Sector Colleges by Business Studies and Government Office Region.

	North East Region.	North West Region.	Yorkshire And Humberside.	East Midlands Region.	West Midlands Region.	East of England Region.	London.	South East Region.	South West Region.	Total England.
1992/3	976	3,167	1,634	1,720	2,354	848	2,685	6,221	2,377	21,982
1993/4	1,102	3,506	1,866	1,928	2,695	1,061	3,063	6,724	2,582	24,527
1994/5	1,215	3,435	1,898	2,099	2,964	1,055	3,269	7,104	2,721	25,760
1995/6	1,378	3,651	2,051	2,273	3,156	1,237	3,452	7,533	2,985	27,716
1996/7	1,198	4,049	2,305	2,505	3,475	3,432	3,930	6,008	3,145	30,047
1997/8	1,364	4,127	2,406	2,805	3,792	3,799	4,216	6,245	3,348	32,102
1998/9	1,308	4,463	2,509	2,830	3,612	3,870	4,671	6,538	3,282	33,083
1999/0	1,235	4,515	2,453	2,822	3,649	3,994	4,778	6,371	3,357	33,177

Source: Goswell, L. (2001), Analytical Services, Department for Education and Skills.

In 1991 a White Paper entitled, '*Education and Training in the 21st Century*' was published which introduced the concept of the GNVQ, this qualification, according to the White Paper, would be comparable with GCE 'A' levels. During this period in time it was deemed necessary to introduce a 'new' qualification, the GNVQ, within Post-Sixteen education as the GCE 'A' level was considered to be too narrowly focussed. GCE 'A' levels were also receiving a lot of criticism in relation to their method of assessment, which although regarded highly by both the Universities and society, was considered to be unsuitable for all candidates.

In 1992 Business Studies GNVQ was introduced at an Intermediate and Advanced level and in 1993 at Foundation level. GNVQ's differed from 'A' levels in their nature i.e. being part vocational. The teacher was required to act as a facilitator and the assessment method used was based upon both examinations and assignments, this method of assessment was conducive to those students who did not like taking examinations. It was envisaged that the qualification would provide the student with the skills and knowledge required to embark upon a career within a specific vocational area, whilst at the same time providing them with essential 'core skills'. Therefore having achieved a GNVQ Advanced, a student had the choice of entering employment or going on to Higher Education.

Table 1.3: shows the number of GNVQ Awards issued in Business/Finance, by gender, between 1992/3 and 2000/1. It can be seen from the table that the number of awards issued at Advanced level (level 3) increased from a total of 826 in 1993/4 to 16,877 in 1999/00. The number of GNVQ Intermediate awards (level 2) also increased substantially between 1992/3 and 1999/00. In 1992/3 a total of 239 Intermediate awards were issued this figure increased to 15,028 in 1999/00. The number of GNVQ Foundation awards (level 1) also increased during this period, from a total of 225 in 1993/4 to 3,352 in 1999/0. It must be noted that the large fall in the overall number of GNVQ awards issued in 2000/1 is due to the changing nature of the qualification and the introduction of the Vocational Certificate in Education, which is reported in a different manner.

Table 1.3: GNVQ Awards in Business/Finance (General):

Qualification by Gender Tables for each Academic Year (1 October – 30 September).

Academic Year of Registration.	Qualification Level.	Number of Male Students.	Number of Female Students.	Total.
1992/3	Foundation	0	0	0
	Intermediate	125	114	239
	Advanced	0	0	0
	Total	125	114	239
1993/4	Foundation	128	97	225
	Intermediate	3,674	2,939	6,613
	Advanced	411	415	826
	Total	4,213	3,451	7,664
1994/5	Foundation	580	401	981
	Intermediate	6,377	5,026	11,403
	Advanced	3,446	3,291	6,737
	Total	10,403	8,718	19,121
1995/6	Foundation	1,092	748	1,840
	Intermediate	7,872	6,206	14,078
	Advanced	7,397	7,331	14,728
	Total	16,361	14,285	30,646
1996/7	Foundation	1,502	1,017	2,519
	Intermediate	7,875	6,051	13,926
	Advanced	6,676	6,214	12,890
	Total	16,052	13,283	29,335
1997/8	Foundation	603	439	1,042
	Intermediate	2,506	2,209	4,715
	Advanced	6,855	6,615	13,470
	Total	9,964	9,263	19,227
1998/9	Foundation	1,501	1,216	2,717
	Intermediate	8,660	6,753	15,413
	Advanced	8,479	8,252	16,731
	Total	18,640	16,221	34,861
1999/0	Foundation	1,869	1,483	3,352
	Intermediate	8,504	6,524	15,028
	Advanced	8,618	8,259	16,877
	Total	18,991	16,266	35,257
2000/01	Foundation	603	439	1,042
	Intermediate	2,506	2,209	4,715
	Advanced	6,855	6,615	13,470
	Total	9,964	9,263	19,227

Source: Source: Goswell, L. (2001), Analytical Services, Department for Education and Skills.

Following the Dearing Report, ‘*Review of Qualifications for 16 to 19-year-olds*’ in 1996 and the DfEE consultation, ‘*Qualifying for Success, 1997/8*’ it was decided that changes needed to be made to Post-Sixteen education which would allow students to combine both vocational and non-vocational subjects, thereby broadening the depth and focus of the Post-Sixteen curriculum. These recommendations were implemented within Curriculum 2000.

Curriculum 2000 introduced major revisions to the Post-Sixteen Curriculum, it replaced GCE 'A' levels with AS and A2 qualifications and the Advanced GNVQ was replaced by the AVCE, also referred to as the 'Vocational A level'. Business Studies can therefore currently be studied within Post-Sixteen Education at AS, A2, GNVQ Foundation and Intermediate levels and at AVCE level.

Business related courses have become increasingly popular in higher education. In 1999 Business and Administrative Studies attracted the greatest number of home-accepted HND students, 27.55% of those students studying for a HND. Despite Business and Administrative Studies being the most popular subject at HND level, it has actually declined in popularity, as in 1994, 40.92% or 9,250 of home accepted HND students opted to study the subject (UCAS Statistical Bulletin on Widening Participation: Edition 2000: p.33). The numbers declined further in 2000 with 6,905 students opting to study the subject and in 2001, 6,671 students (UCAS Statistics enquiry Service tel. 01242 544893).

At university, in 1971 the total number of students graduating from Business Studies Degree Courses in this country stood at 398 by 1980 this figure had increased to 1260. In 1994 the number of home accepted applicants for Business and Administrative Studies Degrees was 22,996, 10.06% of students studying for Degrees. By 1999 this figure had increased to 29,555, 10.66% of students studying for Degrees, a percentage change of 28.52% between 1994 and 1999. In 1999 the most popular subject to study at degree level was Social Studies, 12.42% of home-accepted degree applicants followed by Business and Administrative Studies, 10.66%. (UCAS Statistical Bulletin on Widening Participation: Edition 2000: p.34).

In 2000 the number of home accepted applicants for Business and Administrative Studies degrees was 33,900 and in 2001 35,659 (UCAS Statistics enquiry Service tel. 01242 544893).

2.3. The roots of vocational education and Business Studies.

The period of economic downturn in the 1970s led to the introduction of a series of initiatives that were intended to bring education more ‘in-line’ with the requirements of industry i.e. the Government aimed to make education more vocational in nature.

The first of these initiatives was the introduction of The Youth Opportunities Programme in 1978, which was replaced by the Youth Training Scheme in 1983. Sanderson (1999) believes that this scheme was not considered to be successful as the training only lasted for twelve months and mainly related to administrative functions rather than technology. In 1990 Youth Training replaced the Youth Training Scheme. It was argued by Sanderson (1999), that this scheme also failed, as it was, ‘*more of a means of disguising unemployment than providing effective training*’ (p83). The Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative, known as TVEI, was announced in 1982, ‘*in response to growing concern about existing arrangements for technical and vocational education for young people*’ (Margaret Thatcher quoted by Dale, 1990 p.12) and introduced in 1983.

In 1993 the General National Vocational Qualification (GNVQ) was introduced. Sanderson (1999) notes that this qualification has also come under much criticism. He refers to the criticisms put forward by Wolf (1997), who argues that GNVQ’s are biased towards ‘professional’ and ‘service’ related vocations rather than that of science and technology i.e. Tourism, Health and Social Care, Art and Design and Business. She also believes that GNVQ’s are too ‘academic’ in nature and the staff teaching the qualification have no or little vocational experience, finally many students studying for this qualification wish to enter University upon its completion, rather than seek employment.

Several factors have been identified as ‘holding back’ Vocational and Educational Training (VET) in this country. For example, Finegold and Soskice, (1988) argue that traditionally the state has been responsible for education but training has been the responsibility of businesses and industry; and industry does not always want to invest in training if their short term profitability is at stake. Additionally, in Britain the wage differential between skilled and unskilled labour was low in the post-war period, this

resulted in little ‘enthusiasm’ amongst the workforce to obtain a high level of skill training. As a result Finegold and Soskice (1988) argue that Britain can be classified as being in a ‘low skills equilibrium’ producing ‘low quality goods and services’.

Beck (1998) notes that David Young, who ran the Enterprise Unit of the Cabinet Office in 1984 referred to the work of Wiener (1981) and Barnett (1986) in claiming that, during the middle of the 1980s, that Britain had always lacked a culture of enterprise. It can therefore be argued that David (now) Lord Young, accepted the Wiener thesis and sought to act upon it, because he considered that an anti business and industry culture prevailed within this country. As a result he sought to provide impetus towards an acceptance of business through a more vocationally oriented curriculum.

In 1982, he introduced, via the Department of Employment and overseen by the Manpower Services Commission, the TVEI (Technical and Vocational Education Initiative). The introduction of TVEI reflects Young’s view that:

‘The long-standing biases of the educational system needed to be challenged so that the values of enterprise could be unashamedly articulated and promoted both within schools and higher education’ (Beck 1998, p.115).

This action taken by Lord Young in 1982, represented his and the Conservative Parties response to the anti-industrial and anti-enterprise culture prevalent in English Schools.

Lord Young stated the objectives of TVEI in a letter that he wrote to the education authorities in England and Wales, when inviting them to apply to join the scheme. He hoped that TVEI would ‘enrich’ the curriculum by helping to prepare pupils/students for work, by developing their ‘creative’ skills which would enhance their lives and in so doing increase their contribution to society. It is also interesting to note that Lord Young hoped that the language used in the classroom would change so that, *‘words like profit and wealth are used positively and not as apologetic asides’* (Morris, as quoted in Beck, 1998, p.115).

However, others have questioned Young’s view that change should be engineered through the curriculum. Beck (1998) believes that the action taken by the Conservative

Government during the 1980's, such as the TVEI initiative, could be called into question because the argument, as put forward by Wiener (1981) and Barnett (1986), that the culture in England had been anti-industry is, '*based on erroneous assumptions, tendentious arguments, and weak or sometimes virtually non-existent evidence*' (p.116). Therefore, Beck (1998) argues that when enterprise schemes are promoted within schools, children are being indoctrinated in favour of '*enterprise culture*'. In his view:

'It is no part of the role of schools committed to the overall aim of promoting rational autonomy, to unduly influence their pupils either in favour of (or against) such a clearly political value position' (p.118).

The debate over the appropriateness of the introduction of elements of the curriculum to change students' views as to business culture is a further reason for this study. In the absence of empirical evidence as to the role of education in students' acquisition of values unexamined assumptions are made as to the efficacy of education with respect to the transmission of values. It is hoped that this study will interrogate, empirically, these unexamined assumptions.

This observation is given point by Dale's (1990) view, as regards TVEI, that the effect upon the students and the curriculum was slight whereas its effect upon the management and administrative functions found within the educational system, was highly significant. For example 'control' within the education system changed from that of individual Secondary Schools to that of the MSC. For Dale (1990), the most significant effect of TVEI upon the curriculum was in relation to increasing the awareness of teachers' about '*alternative purposes for education*' i.e. that education did not just relate to a traditional liberal education but could also include references to the '*world of work*'.

It can be argued that TVEI had a positive effect upon Business Studies as it was classified as a technical and vocational subject, therefore funding was available for its development and promotion. Dale (1990) describes how this subject was '*beefed up*' in terms of its '*content*' and '*pedagogy*'. Therefore it could be argued that as the subject of Business Studies became more readily available and was made more '*credible*'

under TVEI more students decided to study it; which in turn would see an increase in the numbers of students studying Business Studies.

3. An overview of the study and outline of the chapters

The first chapter of the thesis sets the theoretical framework for the empirical study. Contrary to the neo-Marxist work that has made claims about the transmission of values appropriate for the capitalist economy, the chapter begins by noting that there are varieties of capitalism which privilege different values. The key intrinsic values presupposed by Anglo-American or Anglo-Saxon capitalism are identified and contrasted with those relating to German and Japanese forms of capitalism. However, in contrast to neo-Marxist accounts it has been argued since Durkheim (1973) that there are many sources of values in society such as the family, and the Church as well as the school. Two key alternatives, to the values that may have their source in education considered in this study are those of gender and the part-time work of students.

While there may be systemic values presupposed by Anglo-American capitalism it does not follow that all firms would necessarily be driven by them. There will be specific circumstances, which will enable some firms to pursue different sets of values and these are identified. However, just as some firms may be able to depart from the systemic values of Anglo-American capitalism so there may be debate within firms as to the values that a firm should hold. There may also be differences in values held between firms and individuals within firms. This raises the possibility that rather than seeing education as a means of transmission of a rather uniform set of systemic values, we should consider the possibility that the values students hold are the outcome of debate and rational reflection.

These considerations then lead to a further possible source of differences in values according to gender and here the contrasting positions of Kohlberg (1958, 1981) and Gilligan (1982) are considered. Again their understanding different approaches to gender presupposes that there are ways of seeing how young men and women may reason differently about the same moral dilemmas. In other words, the methodology to

understand the sources of values that students hold needs to be able to consider the reasoning processes by which they come to their views.

Finally, this chapter develops a typology of how values may come to be acquired through education, on the basis of a literature review, which can then guide elements of the methodology adopted.

Chapter Two contains details of the research methodology, which has been applied to this thesis. The research methodology draws on the points raised in Chapter One; for example relating to the nature of the values being communicated during Business Studies lessons and whether or not those values being communicated are intrinsic or structural to Anglo-American capitalism or an alternative 'variety' of capitalism; and describes a methodology that will address the research questions and the issues raised.

The research is longitudinal in nature, allowing differences in the student's perceptions during the course of their study to be tested, comprising the use of individual questionnaires/scenarios, Focus Groups, lesson observations and one-to-one interviews. The fieldwork has taken two years (1999-2001) to complete. The various research methods, which have been adopted, are inter-related, the Focus Groups provide a more in-depth understanding of the data obtained from the questionnaires/scenarios and the lesson observations further enhance the process of triangulation by substantiating and adding to the information obtained from both the Focus Groups and the questionnaires/scenarios. The empirical research has been gathered from two Sixth Form Colleges in Wiltshire and via one-to-one interviews with members of society who influenced or 'shape' the curriculum in England (policy makers). Theoretical literature has also been studied.

Chapter Three is the first chapter in this thesis to consider the research findings that were generated during this study; Chapter Three details the findings obtained from the interviews conducted with seven, 'policy makers' (those individuals within society who influence the creation of the 'hidden' or 'overt' curriculum).

The chapter presents the key findings that arose during the policy maker research; for example, it was evident that the majority of the policy makers thought that 'A' level

Business Studies was not any more or less important than the more ‘traditional’ ‘A’ level subjects and the majority of the policy makers felt that the values transmitted through the curriculum should be used to create, ‘rounded individuals.’

Chapter Four presents the findings that were generated during the interviews conducted with the teachers. The chapter comprises two sections; the first section explains the key findings that were obtained during this element of the research; for example, only one of the teachers taking part in this study possessed ‘first hand’ business experience and it was evident that the nature of the values communicated by the teachers, during their lessons, varied. The second section of the chapter highlights four themes that emerge within the research findings; for example, the teachers do not intend to teach values that are directly intrinsic or structural to Anglo-American capitalism during their lessons.

Chapter Five comprises details of the research findings obtained at Smith’s College for Class One; it explains the main themes that have arisen from the student research that has been conducted over time for this study: In doing so the key findings generated during the student quantitative, focus group and scenario research (conducted on Class One) are considered in the light of the teacher lesson observation findings (Georgiana and Hugo), in order to generate a series of conclusions in relation to the nature of the values being communicated to Class One during their Business Studies lessons.

The sixth, seventh and eighth chapters of this thesis are structured in a similar manner to Chapter Five; with the exception that Chapter Six details the research findings obtained at Smiths College for Class Two and their respective teachers (Hugo, Georgiana and Nick); Chapter Seven contains information relating to the findings generated at Smiths College for Class Three and their teacher (Amanda) and Chapter Eight comprises the research findings generated at Jones College for Class Four and their respective teacher (Melena).

The final chapter of this thesis, Chapter Nine, provides details of the conclusions generated during the study. Chapter Nine comprises two sections; the first section refers back to the research questions asked in this chapter of this thesis and answers them in the light of the findings generated (see Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight)

during this study and the second section of the conclusion comprises a series of hypothesis that have resulted from the research findings. These hypotheses do not relate directly to the research questions posed but are considered worthy of inclusion due to the contribution that they make to this field of study.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ‘VARIETIES’ OF CAPITALISM, THE SOURCES OF VALUES AND THEIR COMMUNICATION THROUGH EDUCATION

1. The ‘varieties’ of capitalism and their associated values.

In order to discern the nature of the values acquired by students a distinction needs to be made between those values that are structural to, or ‘intrinsic’ to the different forms or ‘varieties’ of capitalism and the personal values that students may hold. The link between capitalism and the values it presupposes has been understood at least since Adam Smith. In the *Wealth of Nations* (1999) he noted that the pursuit of the values of self-interest would have the unintended beneficial consequence of helping all:

‘We are not ready to suspect any person of being defective in selfishness’ and ‘it is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard for their own self-interest. We address ourselves not to their humanity but their self-love’ (books I-III, p.119).

Equally, there has been a significant debate about the values Marx assumed to be embedded in capitalism and which he argued would be overthrown by communism (Cohen, Nagel and Scanlon, 1980). However, scholarship over the past fifteen years has established that there are different forms of capitalism (Hutton, 1995; Dore, 2000; Hall and Soskice, 2001; Lauder, Brown and Ashton, 2008), which arguably will presuppose different sets of structural or intrinsic values. In this thesis we are concerned with the type of capitalism, which characterises the British economy, which is often referred to as Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-American, stockholder or shareholder capitalism. The nature of Anglo-American capitalism and the values that it presupposes will be discussed below. While it is well established that there are different forms of capitalism, the question of how much they may have converged as a result of economic

globalisation (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough and Halsey, 2006), also needs to be considered.

In the context of this thesis, the values associated with the different forms of capitalism can be considered as providing a baseline against which we can examine continuity and contestation over values by policy makers, teachers and students. It also provides a 'measure' by which we can view whether the attempted transmission of business values down the policy chain are consistent with the values presupposed by Anglo-American capitalism.² Is there, as Bowles and Gintis (1976) might suggest, a correspondence between the values transmitted in education and in this case Anglo-American capitalism?

Prior to examining the nature of the values associated with the different forms of capitalism, the predominant characteristics of these systems of capitalism will be considered.

1.1. Mapping the 'varieties' of capitalism

It is evident when reviewing the work of Dore (2000), Hutton (1995) and Hall and Soskice (2001), who are among the key theorists of the varieties of capitalism approach, that they use slightly different terminology when defining the different forms of capitalism present within economic systems. For example, Dore (2000) describes the form of capitalism found in America and Britain as stock market capitalism. This is because the success or failure of many firms found within these economies is dependent upon the stock market and it is used as a term of reference when considering the economy. The type of capitalism found within Japan and Germany is classified by Dore (2000) as welfare capitalism, this is because he argues that these economies are primarily focussed upon the welfare and 'well-being' of their workers when measuring the 'good' of the society.

² The term attempted is stressed because at any point in the policy chain the values associated with the dominant business model e.g. Anglo-American capitalism may be contested.

A slightly different approach is taken by Hall and Soskice (2001) when comparing and defining the nature of different types of capitalist economies. This is because Hall and Soskice (2001) argue that distinctive national institutional structures are created by provisional ‘solutions’ to a series of specific problems that firms in any capitalist economy have to address. These include: industrial relations, vocational education and training. Broadly speaking these problems are addressed in two different ways: through the strategies of either liberal market economies or coordinated market economies. They explain that in liberal market economies (LMEs) businesses utilise the market and ‘market relations’ in order to resolve any ‘coordination’ issues that they encounter whilst businesses operating in coordinated market economies (CMEs) will use types of ‘non-market coordination’, for example, ‘collaboration’ or ‘strategic interaction’. They state that:

‘In sum, we contend that differences in the institutional framework of the political economy generate systematic differences in corporate strategy across LMEs and CMEs’. (Hall and Soskice, 2001, p16)

However, it is argued by Hall and Soskice (2001) that culture and history impact upon the ways in which the fundamental problems described above are addressed by the two different kinds of economy. In particular, they argue that history impacts upon institutions in terms of the formal procedures adopted during their creation and also in terms of the establishment of a common set of expectations that develop, between the ‘actors’, over time. This is significant in relation to this thesis because it suggests that the values presupposed by a particular type of capitalism will be historically and culturally formed and that in contrast to Bowles and Gintis (1976) they will be different for the different types of capitalism. Hence in Britain, it may well be that for historical and cultural reasons a form of anti-business or anti-capitalist sentiment may have emerged, as noted in the previous chapter.

In contrast, to Dore, and Hall and Soskice, Hutton (1995) adopts the terms Anglo-American capitalism when referring to the variety of capitalism present within America and Britain; ‘Social Market Europe’ to describe the nature of the form of capitalism found within Germany and Scandinavia and the term ‘Peoplism’ when referring to East Asian Capitalism, because the factor of production which dominates this variety of

capitalism (East Asian) is labour. In this thesis the term Anglo-American or, as it is often called, Anglo-Saxon capitalism that is the focus of this enquiry.

1.2. The predominant characteristics of the different forms or 'varieties' of capitalism.

Having considered the definitions utilised by the main theorists of the 'varieties' of capitalism approach, the predominant characteristics of the different forms of capitalism will now be addressed with reference to: Anglo-American capitalism (liberal market economies) as found in America and Britain and by point of contrast, welfare capitalism (coordinated market economies) which is applicable to Japan and Germany.

It must be noted that the form of welfare capitalism described when considering Japan and Germany is argued by Dore (2000) to be an ideal type, as he notes that recently both Japan and Germany have been experiencing both internal and external pressures to follow '*trends*', which he calls '*marketization plus financialization*' in order to adopt a form of capitalism closer to that found within America and Britain. In turn this reinforces the question about the role of economic globalisation in creating the forces for convergence.

1.2.1. Anglo-American capitalism

It is evident from the descriptions of Hutton (1995), Dore (2000) and Hall and Soskice (2001) that the predominant characteristics of this form of capitalism reflect the importance placed upon the operation of the market and the returns to shareholders. By focusing on the returns to shareholders, this form of capitalism is driven by the short-term need to satisfy shareholder demands, typically on an annual basis: failure to do so can lead to takeovers. Additionally senior management are often rewarded through packages that link their earnings to the company's shares creating the incentive whereby as a company's shares rise so does the wealth of the senior executives. Central to this economic system is the financial market which Hall and Soskice (2001) argue encourages businesses to, '*be attentive to current earnings and the price of their shares on equity markets*' (p.27) because the finance available to businesses relates to

their stock market valuation. Dore (2000) pays attention to how the; ‘fat cats’ or Chief Executive Officers of British businesses are paid. This is because, it can be argued that the pay structure of CEO’s emphasises the market-orientated nature of the economy, which focuses upon short-term profit maximisation.

‘Increasingly the big rewards come, not from salaries, but sometimes from performance bonuses, linked to some measure of profits, and much more commonly from stock options.’ Dore (2000 p.12).

Several consequences follow for the conduct of this form of capitalism. Firstly, the drive to earn profit that can then be reflected in shareholder dividends is paramount and the strategies of firms reflect this imperative. At the same time such a system requires a labour market that is available to reflect this imperative. Secondly, then, the labour market can be characterised as flexible (Brown, Green and Lauder, 2001) in which there are few impediments to hiring and firing workers where the criterion for doing so is short-term returns on profit. This system presupposes weak unions and minimal employment regulation. Hutton (1995) notes that depending upon the condition of the market, businesses often merge with each other or are being taken over and will frequently hire and fire their employees if they believe that the ‘cost’ of their employees in terms of their wages/salaries is impacting upon their short-term profitability. While Dore (2000) also sees profit as key:

‘Never mind if the up-sizing of profits is usually accompanied by the downsizing of employment and wages’ (p. 18).

In turn, the sources of instability in the labour market are exacerbated because firms are both subject to takeovers in which downsizing can occur as well as to recessions. Dore (2000) describes how during periods of recession, profitability is maintained by reducing costs i.e. employees are often made redundant or dismissed. Overall, employees are perceived as having an employment contract with the business that can easily be rescinded in order to reduce costs when the need arises i.e. the short-term profitability of the business is in jeopardy.

A third consequence, noted by Hutton, amongst many is firms do not like to spend money on training schemes (they do not perceive themselves as offering ‘lifetime employment’), as they believe that the costs involved damage their short-term ‘competitive position’. The consequence as Estevez-Abe, Estevez-Abe, Ivinson, and Soskice (2001) and Wolf (2002) argue, is that in these economies general skills gained through the education system predominate because they are more easily transferable. This is in contrast to the firm specific skills that characterise the Korean and Japanese forms of skilling and the occupational labour market found in Germany. In these latter examples skills are either defined or developed in the workplace or through a tripartite system in which employers make significant investments (Brown, Green and Lauder, 2001).

Before examining the structural or intrinsic values related to Anglo-American capitalism, a brief contrast is made with Germany and Japan, the values presupposed by these forms of capitalism will be different. And some understanding of the comparison will help to underline the particular values underlying Anglo-American capitalism

1.2.2. German capitalism

Hutton (1995) argues that;

‘the great benefit of this system is that its institutional structure favours co-operation, high productivity and investment’ (p.262).

Dore (2000) comments as follows when reviewing the characteristics of German capitalism in comparison to stock market capitalism;

‘it is still the employees who have hitherto been considered as the most important stakeholders, rather than the owners of shares’ (p.11).

In Germany, in contrast to Anglo-American capitalism, firms raise money via the banking system³ rather than through the stock market, which means that businesses and their senior management focus less on the share price than businesses operating within Anglo-Saxon and American capitalist systems and takeovers rarely occur within the economy. On this basis Hall and Soskice (2001) argue that German businesses are more able to sustain smaller returns in the short term in comparison to businesses found within liberal market economies because of the form of bank based sources of finance. This is reinforced by the cross shareholdings in German businesses in which typically lending banks take a seat on the board of the companies they lend to. Hutton (1995) points out that;

'there is a compromise in favour of concerted and co-operative behaviour aimed at boosting production and investment' p.263.

These characteristics result in firms being able to retain skilled workers during periods of recession and to make plans and investment decisions for the long-run as opposed to just the short-run, which is often the case with American and Anglo-Saxon businesses (see Hall and Soskice, 2001). It is particularly this aspect of German capitalism which Streeck (1989) has argued has enabled it to sustain high quality workers and products because skills do not atrophy and investment in downturns in capital and labour has meant that Germany has been able to take advantage of upturns.⁴

The key to this system is that of co-operation. For example, many partnerships exist between management and the unions and it is usual practice for industry wide union wage negotiations to take place (Hutton, 1995). As a result, the variety of capitalism found in Germany is not characterised by the 'hire fire' mentality that is present within American and British capitalism but instead reflects long-term employment contracts. Hutton (1995) argues that in addition to the unions being strong, German industry is represented via employers' organisations. Wage negotiations or industrial relations

³ Hutton (1995) explains that in addition to holding their own shares and those of others in the firms that they provide with finance, the banks also, 'know the companies they finance' as they play an active role on their boards, helping the business make financial decisions.

⁴ This does not mean that there are no 'flexible' sectors of the labour market where it is easier to hire and fire as with the Anglo-American model. In Germany this was a role undertaken by migrant workers.

disputes are handled by these organisations which in turn has meant that wage rates are higher than in the US and jobs more stable. Hutton (1995) suggests that;

'in order for managers and workers to run enterprises collaboratively, financial stakeholders have to concede that they cannot maximise their returns in the short run' p.263.

This is especially the case in the vocational education provided by a tripartite system of the Federal State, local chambers of commerce and companies. This has resulted, as Hutton (1995) points out, in the, *'highest numbers of trained apprentices per head of population in the world'* (p. 264). The commitment of companies to maintain highly skilled workers is supported by a welfare system, which in times of recession helps to ensure that businesses do not find it necessary to make employees redundant, due to their wages being partly paid by 'social insurances'. In these respects German capitalism has a long-term focus on market share and on manufacturing production.

1.2.3. Japanese capitalism

Japanese capitalism is known as 'Peoplism' due to labour being classified as the most important factor of production within the economy. Firms take care to look after the interests of their 'members' or workers, providing lifetime employment, pensions and social benefits. For example, during poor trading conditions the labour force is not immediately 'slimmed down' as profit is sacrificed first. There is minimal labour mobility. The institutional structure is based upon the concept of, *'trust, continuity, reputation and co-operation in economic relationships'* (Hutton, 1995, p.269). The economy is characterised by competition and co-operation and the culture is described by Hutton (1995) as being, *'firmly production orientated'* p. 270.

The production orientation that enables long-term horizons also sees the key objective of the firm as being market share rather than short-term profit. This is due to the existence of 'cross-shareholding' and 'relational banking'. Dore (2000) explains that businesses in Japan may at any one time have seventy percent of their shares owned by either their bank, insurance company or their major customers or suppliers - 'cross-

shareholding' and they also obtain 'debt finance' in order to fund their activities from banks (relational-banking). Therefore as the 'owners' of the business have a 'stake' in its long-term 'success' or trading i.e. they are suppliers of the business, customers or a bank that has lent it money or will finance its debt during difficult trading conditions; Japanese businesses are not under any 'pressure' from their owners to maximise short term profitability which means that firms can concentrate upon the welfare of their employees and other stakeholders.

This form of financing enables the 'space' for the predominant characteristic of 'Peoplism' that the firm is viewed as a community, which employees join in the expectation of obtaining a long-term career. In turn this enables long-term contracts to be given to workers in return for a commitment to skill and re-skill as the company, responding to market conditions, demands.⁵

Overall, as a result of the regulated nature of the market and the financing system in Japan, market share is the main business objective and the economy is characterised by long-termism rather than the short-term outlook, which is 'forced' upon British and American firms by the nature of the market and shareholders' requirements.

It is therefore apparent, from the descriptions of German and Japanese capitalism detailed above (forms of welfare capitalism), that the economies are characterised by; a focus on the 'welfare' and skills of their employees and their principle 'stakeholders'. In this context, employees' welfare is supported by a range of medium to long-term strategies in which workers are seen as central to the production of high quality goods.

2. The values structural to or intrinsic to the different forms or 'varieties' of capitalism

One of the criticisms that can be made of the debate relating to the contested nature of business values is that it failed to acknowledge that there are different kinds of

⁵ It should be emphasised that as with the German model there is a group of workers, largely women, who do act as a low skilled 'buffer' to the exigencies of capitalist booms and slumps (Brown, Green and Lauder, 2001). However, this has traditionally been a much smaller proportion of workers than in the Anglo-American model.

capitalism which privilege different values. If different kinds of capitalism promote different values then it can be hypothesised that these may be communicated through education (see Bowles and Gintis 1976; Apple, 1990, and Kelly, 1999)⁶. Having reviewed the predominant characteristics of Anglo-American, and Welfare capitalism/ 'Peoplism' the values that are intrinsic to these forms of capitalism but particularly those relating to Anglo-American capitalism will now be considered.

2.1. The structural values related to Anglo-American capitalism

In order to identify these values reference will be made to the work of Sennett (1998), who has written the most extended discussion of business values and how they relate to workers' personal values. It is significant that there has been very little written in the relationship of these different types of capitalism and the values that they presuppose. For example, while Hutton does refer to values (see below), there is no discussion of them in either Dore (2000) or Hall and Soskice's (2001) collection of essays. However, one author who has made explicit how the changing nature of Anglo-American capitalism presupposes systemic values, which may be in tension with personal values, is Sennett (1998).

Sennett argues that the emphasis on the short-term where strategy is subservient to returns to shareholders, what he calls impatient capitalism, has consequences for the values that workers hold creating tensions between the values of work and those of the family. He makes the links between the imperative of shareholder dividends and values in the following way: the demand for profit and dividends in turn impacts on the labour market and the hiring and firing practices of the firm. Short-termism leads to a sense in which 'trust, loyalty and mutual commitment' are corroded. These values all require a longer-term association to develop both in relation to the company and to fellow employees. Sennett cites an IBM consultant who noted that once employees 'understand [they can't depend on the corporation] they are marketable.' (p.25).

⁶ It is therefore particularly important to distinguish the values that may be communicated by the kind of capitalism that is distinctive of Britain, often referred to as the Anglo-American variety of capitalism as this study was conducted within England.

In effect the social glue that enabled cooperation and commitment in the workplace has been replaced by an emphasis on individualism and self-interest. He considers that the modern worker has to hold chameleon values since in the workplace commitment has to be shown just so long as the worker is of use to the company. In this respect, he notes, that trust can have two senses for workers: there may be an absence of trust or it may take the form of suspicion of others. Bonds of trust are tested, he says, when things go wrong and the need for help is acute (p.141). This is an issue that will arise from the analysis of the fieldwork.

The issue of self-interest underlies some of the innovations in modern organisations like teamwork. On the surface teamwork requires an understanding of others including a degree of sympathy and empathy and respect for others in allowing them to put a point of view when problem solving. However, rather like in the television series *The Apprentice*, teamwork is underpinned by a lack of trust and the desire for self-advancement. Sennet describes teamwork, in this context, as a form of ‘demeaning superficiality’. On the basis of this observation we can describe this ‘superficial’ holding of values as ‘functional’, as in ‘functional loyalty, sympathy or empathy’ because the appearance of these values or the holding of them for short periods can be seen as functional to the continued employment of a worker.

This view of functional values is related to Brown and Hesketh’s (2004) account of the strategies that graduates use when seeking employment. They distinguish between ‘purists’ and ‘players’. The former hold a particular view of themselves and present it, irrespective of the demands of the job that they are applying for. In contrast the players seek to fit their personalities to the job as they read the job description and the tacit clues that they may pick up during the interview process.

However, these values that are presupposed by the modern workplace and its institutional relationship to executive and shareholder interests are also, according to Sennett, in tension with values outside the workplace. For example, one of his interviewees seeks to engender in his family, ‘obligation, trustworthiness, commitment and purpose’. But his own experience of having to move from job to job means that he does not exemplify the values that he extols and this causes him considerable anxiety.

Sennett summarises the dilemmas faced not only by his interviewee but also the society when he asks:

*‘How can long-term purposes be pursued in a short-term society?
How can durable social relations be sustained? How can a human being
develop a narrative of identity and life history in a society composed of episodes
and fragments?’* (Sennett 1998, p.26)

Although he doesn’t express it in this way, the wider concern is how a young person can sustain a set of values by which they may analyse and act on ethical issues and dilemmas when confronted with the presupposition of self-interest on the one hand and the episodic nature of working life on the other.

While Sennett’s essay may be seen as something of a polemic that will require qualification, his discussion of the dissonance between the values of paid work and the family is helpful because it emphasises multiple sources from which values may be gained. Here it is important to stress that families, schools and indeed the media may all be sources of the values that young people hold and these may be in tension with the systemic values of Anglo-American work as described by Sennett.⁷

The extent to which Sennett’s essay can be described as a ‘polemic’ can be reviewed in relation to society within both America and Britain and its respective form of capitalism i.e. Anglo-American. In a celebrated study of American values, Robert Bellah (1985) found that in contrast to a popular view at the time, a ‘me’ generation of selfish individuals was not emerging in the United States, although the way the world was viewed and discussed was through the lens of individualism. More recently Bellah (1992) has returned to the question. He now found that civic engagement was declining, amongst the professional middle classes and that this might be attributed to the constant merging and/or breaking up of organisations and the subsequent ‘movement’ of their employees i.e. the professional middle class and rather as in Sennett’s analysis he considered that this was potentially creating a ‘crisis’ in their

⁷ Hutton (1995) has a similar view of the values presupposed by British capitalism, although not developed in such details. He argues that American capitalism ‘is the most individualistic and libertarian of all’ (p.258) and that if anything British capitalism is more extreme.

personal lives. He also notes that public trust is an important element of the social capital, which is integral to civic engagement, and that this has declined significantly (approximately by one third) between 1960 and 1993. Bellah's survey research supports Sennett's analysis in significant ways in that it points to the same tension between the values presupposed by Anglo-American capitalism and those of individuals.

However, Bellah's findings may be considered dated, although, if anything the insecurity relating to Anglo-American business has intensified (Brown, Lauder and Ashton, 2008). But are the views of Sennet (1996) and Bellah (1996) echoed in empirical research on values in Britain?

The findings of a recent survey in Britain entitled, 'Young People in Britain: the Attitudes and Experiences of 12 to 19 Year Olds' (Park, Phillips and Johnson, 2004) point to some interesting changes in young people's attitudes between 1998 and 2003 when the survey was conducted. The survey of 663 young people was linked to the adult British Social Attitudes survey in that those sampled were related to the adults sampled. Several findings are of interest. Perhaps the first is that young people were not trustful of others with 71 per cent saying that 'you can't be too careful' when dealing with others (p.4). When it came to the views on paid work, the findings were that 74 per cent thought 'there were more important things in life than paid work'. At the same time when asked whether a job was just to earn money boys were more likely than girls to agree. However there were differences based on family income with those from higher income families being less instrumental in their views. These results should be placed in a context where the majority of those from lower income homes (63 per cent) disagreed with the statement, while 84 per cent from the highest income families disagreed.

Overall these results suggest that interesting work while desirable needed to be placed in the context of a view of a work-life balance in which 'being happy' was considered most important. It is hard to view these data as supporting or rejecting the kind of analysis articulated by Sennett (1996) and Bellah (1996). However, a clearer view may be gained from the research reported in the following chapters.

2. 2. Contrasting values in Germany and Japan

As a point of contrast, Hutton (1995) argues that there are three values intrinsic to German capitalism (welfare capitalism) i.e. ‘order’, ‘solidarity’ and ‘production’. He believes that the need for ‘order’ and ‘discipline’ has Prussian origins where as the desire for ‘social solidarity’ is founded upon Catholic principles. This is reflected through central decision making being located within close proximity to those who are affected by it, thereby emphasising cooperation between stakeholders in what is seen as a collective enterprise.

It can be argued that the values intrinsic to Japanese capitalism or ‘Peoplism’ are based upon Confucian and feudal values for example cooperation, trust, order and reputation (see Dore, 1995 and Hutton, 1995). The notion that older members of society are ‘wise’ helps instil a sense of discipline amongst younger members of society. This value system is reflected within the business environment because the values that are structural to this variety of capitalism relate to the importance of the employees and stakeholders – the ‘enterprise community’; the reputation of the business within the community; co-operation and trust with the customer dominating business decisions. While they will take different cultural forms German welfare capitalism and Japanese Peoplism appear to maintain the values that Sennet argues that Anglo-American capitalism has lost: there is still the possibility of creating long term relationships based on trust, loyalty and mutual commitment.

Given this analysis we can now examine the relationship between the institutional structures of the three kinds of capitalism and the values they presuppose.

The values intrinsic to or structural to the different ‘varieties’ or forms of capitalism which are being addressed within this thesis are summarised in Table 2.1. over:

Table 2.1: The ‘values’ presupposed by the different forms of capitalism

Type of Capitalism	Anglo-American Capitalism.	German ‘social market Europe’ Capitalism.	Japanese ‘East Asian Capitalism/Peoplism’
Institutional Structures	<p>Financing production is market driven. Short-term profitability.</p> <p>Returns to shareholders.</p> <p>Flexible labour markets</p> <p>Formal contractual relations between employers and employees.</p>	<p>Financing of production is driven by banks and cross-shareholdings. The main goal of the firm relates to long-term market share.</p> <p>An occupational labour market</p> <p>High worker productivity through long term investment including training</p> <p>Decisions taken by those affected.</p>	<p>Financing of production is driven by banks and cross-shareholdings. The main goal of the firm relates to long-term market share.</p> <p>Internal Labour market/job for life.</p> <p>High worker productivity through long term investment including training</p>
Associated ‘values’.	<p>Self-interest</p> <p>A lack of trust</p> <p>Functional loyalty, and commitment</p> <p>Functional sympathy and empathy</p> <p>Chameleon values</p>	<p>Order.</p> <p>Discipline.</p> <p>Solidarity.</p> <p>A balance of competition and co-operation/trust.</p> <p>Long term loyalty and commitment</p>	<p>Customers are valued</p> <p>Human Resources/Labour.</p> <p>Co-operation.</p> <p>Competition.</p> <p>Trust.</p> <p>Continuity.</p> <p>Reputation.</p> <p>Order.</p> <p>Respect for age/elderly.</p> <p>Saving face.</p> <p>Social harmony.</p>

It is apparent from Table 2.1: that, ‘profit’ is classified as both a value and an objective when considering the activities of businesses within the context of British and American capitalism. Due to the contested nature of values (meaning and utilisation) it could be argued that this classification is correct, i.e. profit is both a value in its own right as businesses frequently classify profitability as being ‘important’ (see Talbot 2000) and also a business goal or objective, i.e. the business aims to maximise profit.

When categorising profitability as a business objective or goal (within the context of Anglo-American capitalism) it could be argued that other business values, for example, to provide good working conditions or good customer service will be practiced by the business in order to achieve its 'ultimate' business goal or objective of profit maximisation. For the purpose of this thesis, a distinction will be sought between business objectives such as profit, the values that may underlie these objectives i.e. the research will identify those values communicated during Business Studies lessons that can be associated with the business objective of profitability, and ethical values that may conflict with the goal of profitability.

2.3. The range of values presupposed by Anglo-American capitalism and issues they raise

As seen above, the systemic values associated with particular forms of capitalism will not be the only source of values in a society. Interestingly, it may be that the German and Japanese forms of capitalism are more likely to be consistent with the values held by the wider society. However, when compared to the range of the possible values that may be held, (see, e.g., Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1976), then the values related to those which are systemic to Anglo-American capitalism may appear to be a quite small sub-set. However, issues of loyalty, trust and commitment underlie the majority of relationships that people may consider meaningful whether they be friendships, family relationships or those within the community. Equally in considering these relationships tensions may arise by which questions of courage, personal happiness versus the happiness of others, obligation and duty may all arise.

In looking at these values, trust is of particular significance. In Anglo-American capitalism, trust is often contrasted with a contractual view of relationships. In the latter what ensures that the system works are the formal contracts that bind individuals rather than, as in Germany or Japan informal relationships based on commitment and trust. But trust is a value that requires further understanding. We should distinguish between the quality ascribed to a person as being trustworthy which may be considered a virtue and as a precondition for other elements within a relationship such as loyalty and commitment. Without relations of reciprocal trust the latter are unlikely to be possible.

It may be that it is possible in one-sided relationships but less so in more formal settings like work organisations. As Fox (1974) has argued in low trust organisations employee commitment is likely to be minimal. In discussing this point he makes an important comment that links the values of the business organisation to the wider society:

'Neither the organization nor the wider society, however, has been able to provide them [workers] with a frame of reference which leads them to offer their active legitimation (as opposed to passive acquiescence' (p.336).

However, the question of whether the values of the wider society are consistent with the values of Anglo-American capitalism remains to be investigated. If as we have seen the values of young people are not wholly related to paid work, what other sources are there?

The discussion so far has concentrated on identifying what may be described as the ideal type institutional structures relating to the different kinds of capitalism and the values they presuppose. However, there are two issues to consider: the first concerns the conditions under which the ideal type with respect to Anglo-American capitalism may not obtain. In other words, not all companies and workers may conform to the ideal-type in practice. The second concerns the degree to which the types of capitalism described here may in fact be converging due to globalisation with the consequence that the systemic values presupposed by the different kinds of capitalism may also be converging.

3. Anglo-American capitalism, business behaviour and the influence of globalisation.

3.1. Anglo-American capitalism and business behaviour.

While the concept of Anglo-American capitalism is an ideal type which presupposes a certain set of values centred on short-term profit making as opposed to a longer term

perspective in relation to market share; it is evident that some organisations operating within this capitalist system will not reflect the 'ideal' as their behaviour and/or their values may differ from those more frequently associated with Anglo-American capitalism.

The economic basis for why some firms may diverge from the ideal type include the following reasons: the presence of a niche market, when operating as a near monopoly, if firms are not listed on the stock market and hence do not have the pressure for short term profit, when they are regulated as in the case of utilities, and if they are committed to sustainability and can effect a strategy which aims at more sustainable development while not impairing their bottom line. Here the issue of costs is crucial. If firms cannot cover their costs then their values may have to change. These factors will now be considered in more depth starting with the example of the Body Shop.

The Body Shop can be classified as an example of a business organisation operating within a niche market in the U.K that did not consider the maximisation of profitability to be its predominant business objective. Prior to its reorganisation during the middle of the 1990's, when Patrick Gournay took over from the late Anita Roddick, due to pressure from its shareholders (The Body Shop was floated in 1982) the objectives of the business were based upon the values and principles of its founder Anita Roddick. Some of her opinions relating to the distribution of profit are detailed below (as quoted in Bakan 2004):

'The whole purpose of business if you're accumulating profits is to give it away, give the bloody stuff away' (p.52).

And

'Do the best you can for the community, just be a beacon in the community' (p.52).

The second situation that may cause a business operating within the context of Anglo-American capitalism to exhibit behaviour that differs from the 'ideal' is when the organisation finds itself experiencing low costs in relation to profit. This could be

accounted for by a near monopoly or oligopoly position when the pressure to achieve profits may not be so high (additionally in the short run the business may decide not to pursue profit maximisation as by charging a lower price for their products they are deterring new entrants into the market, due to the ‘sunk’ costs associated with market entry i.e. advertising which ultimately impacts upon profitability.

The source of company finances also impacts upon the behaviour of businesses i.e. if the business is not quoted on the stock market then it is not subject to the pressure asserted by its investors for short-term profit maximisation, which inevitably favourably influences the share price. For example, prior to its floatation in 1982 the Body Shop was able to pursue ‘alternative’ objectives related to issues such as the environment, human rights, helping local communities or social justice. Currently the Co-operative supermarket chain is able to participate in fair trade and numerous projects due to its financing arrangements that place less significance upon short-term profit maximisation.

Regulation and Nationalisation can also influence business behaviour. For example a Business that is subject to EU emission targets (regulation) will find it difficult to maximise profitability in the short-run due to an initial high cost base until more economic forms of production that comply with the regulations are found. An interesting example of where values of service are now coming into conflict with profitability is the Royal Mail which has until recently jeopardised profitability in favour of providing a service to the nation, for example by keeping Post Offices open and distributing mail in rural communities with low population densities.

Companies who claim to be committed to sustainability (which could be applicable to any of the instances of business behaviour described above) may be able to reduce costs while implementing more sustainable production techniques. However, whether this is possible will depend upon the economic sector the company is in. In motor vehicles the long-term investment required to develop hybrid cars is considerable. In contrast the Royal Mail hopes to reduce the amount of fuel consumed by their business through the promotion of their, ‘Making Red Vans Green’ program, this program aims to educate its employees in driving, maintenance, fuel management and route planning

in order to reduce fuel consumption. This form of more sustainable business requires considerably less outlay.

It is significant to note that while some organisations give the impression that they genuinely believe in their Value or Mission Statements i.e. Body Shop or the Cooperative they can find them hard to live up to. In the Statement Of Business Principles produced by the Royal Dutch/Shell Group of Companies in 1997, Herkstroter (Chairman of the Committee of Managing Directors) says: '*We recognise that it is vital that our behaviour matches our intentions*' (p.1). A few years later the Royal Dutch/Shell Group of Companies were criticised for overstating their proven oil and gas reserves and for using 'creative' accounting techniques. This resulted in their profits being substantially inflated and culminated in the resignation of several members of their Senior Management.

This leads us on to a further reason why businesses produce 'alternative' Statements; that of attracting investment particularly ethical or 'green' investment. It can be argued that many businesses consider that if they produce an 'ethical' Value or Mission Statement it will attract the interest of 'ethical' investors, i.e. those individuals who would rather invest money in an ethical, rather than a non-ethical organisation, and also employees who would rather work for an ethical organisation.

The issue of ethical investment and that of attracting 'ethical' employees was addressed in *The Economist* (April 2000, pp.83-86) under the heading of 'Business Ethics, doing well by doing good'. *The Economist* felt that these arguments could be called into question, as very few ethical investors look at the internal ethical policies of businesses and many individuals move from not-for profit organisations to work for less ethical ones.

However, it can also be argued that many businesses adopt business values, as they believe that it will help them achieve their business objectives. Deal and Kennedy (1982) hold this view. They discovered that successful businesses placed significant

emphasis upon business values and tended to possess the following characteristics: they *'have a clear and explicit philosophy about how they aim to conduct their business'* (p. 22), the managers within the business 'fine-tune' the organisation's values with regard to the state of the economy and the business context, managers clearly communicate the values throughout the organisation, the values are 'shared' by all of the employees. They do note however that, in order to develop a 'strong' culture within the organisation based upon business values, the most senior managers will need to strictly adhere to the values. If they are seen not to be conforming to the stated values they undermine them.

It is possible that businesses produce a Value or Mission Statement even if they do not entirely believe in its contents simply to be seen as conforming to the current 'fashion' in business practices and to prevent criticism from shareholders, future investors or employees. Bakan (2004) argues that the public are demanding higher levels of corporate responsibility due to a lack of trust or even fear of some organisations. Therefore:

'Corporations are now often expected to deliver the good, not just the goods; to pursue values, not just value; and to help make the world a better place' (p.31).

He notes that writers such as Jackson (2004) believe that this reflects the commencement of a 'new' stage in capitalism, *'capitalism with a conscience'*. Although it should be noted that one guru of free market economics, Milton Friedman (2004), argues that 'moralism' in business organisations is actually 'immoral': that by pursuing business interests alone companies do 'right' by creating profit and wealth, a variant of Adam Smith's view in *The Wealth of Nations*.

As we have seen it is argued by Friedman (2004) that business managers are expected to adhere to one form of 'social responsibility,' i.e. that they should make money for their shareholders. Therefore, managers who follow environmental or social concerns, as opposed to the pursuit of profit, are acting 'immorally.' He believes that there is only one situation, in which organisations can adopt, 'corporate social responsibility,' that is when it is insincere. *'Therefore, hypocrisy is virtuous when it serves the bottom line. Moral virtue is immoral when it does not'* (p.35).

It can be argued that while companies may have a market niche in which to pursue a particular set of values, it appears to be the case that the default position for companies listed on the stock market (within the context of Anglo-American capitalism) for whom shareholder value is the paramount objective, is to generate maximum returns for their shareholders. For example, the Body Shop initially pursued 'alternative' objectives but eventually was forced to succumb to shareholder pressure.

3.2. Conflicting values: Individuals and Businesses

In order to gain a more comprehensive insight into the 'conflicting values' of individuals and those of business organisations operating within the context of Anglo-American capitalism the arguments of Talbot (2000), Bakan (2004) and Sennett (1998, 2006) will be referred to.

Talbot (2000) argues that two different forms of 'value conflict' are present within businesses. The first type of conflict takes place between the different values possessed by the individuals within the organisation; as the individuals within the business will possess different views relating to the 'nature' and 'means' too organisational success. Talbot (2000) believes that this type of 'value conflict' can be reduced if management emphasise the concept of 'shared' values by identifying and promoting core values. So for example, the point made by Friedman above, that corporations should have no social responsibility is one that may be debated within an organisation.

The second type of value conflict identified by Talbot (2000) relates to conflict between the values of the organisation and the individuals within it i.e. the individuals within the business to possess different values to that of the business organisation. This form of value conflict is also noted by Bakan (2004) and Sennett (1998, 2006). For example, Bakan (2004) recognises that the majority of business executives are; '*good people*' and '*moral people*,' yet when they are at work they have a corporate duty to place the interests of the organisation above all other interests, for example the interests of other individuals. Bakan (2004) qualifies this statement further by stating that the organisation will permit concern for others if it can be seen as enhancing the interests of the business. He refers to an interview conducted with the late Anita Roddick,

founder of The Body Shop, in which she blamed the concept of profit maximisation, *'for business's amorality, for forcing otherwise decent people to do indecent things'* (2004, p.55). Roddick elaborates further upon her views, when she refers to employees, *'compartmentalising'* their lives due to the culture in many organisations which promotes the 'disassociation' of employees from their own personal values, this she argues, *'stops people from having a sense of empathy with the human condition'* (2004, pp.55-56). This insight foreshadows some of the findings of this thesis.

Talbot (2000) points out that the possession of values 'constrains' action and often requires 'choices' between values to be made. She refers to an individual who values both success and love and who finds themselves placed in a position of conflict when they do not possess enough 'energy' for both. Therefore, as Talbot (2000) states that individual values can be applied to organisations and businesses, it can be assumed that if businesses possess several different types of business value, for example to increase their profitability and to be fair to their employees they may, under poor trading conditions have to make a choice between their profitability and the wage levels of their employees.

It can be argued that the decision reached by the business organisation facing the dilemma stated above will be dependent upon several factors: how they 'rank' their business values i.e. do they classify some of their stated 'values' to be more important than others; the type of economy that the business is 'sourced' in, for example, a Japanese or German business may make a different decision to that of an American or English business; the level of conviction in the organisation in relation to ethical business values i.e. does the business genuinely 'value' their employees or did they develop business values in-order to satisfy their investor; the overall state of the economy, for example is the market likely to recover in the short or long run, are competitors reducing the wages of their staff and are interest rates or inflation increasing, as this will impact upon borrowing, trade and the price of raw materials.

Bearing in mind the comments and arguments presented above, it is surprising to note the response to a question in the survey conducted by the Management Counsel in association with John Humble (1992). The question asked *'if corporate values interfere with short-term commercial gain (especially in a recession), which gets priority?'* 23% of respondents said corporate values, 30% said short-term commercial

gain and 38% said both equally (1992, p. 8). However, while corporate values get some consideration, an article reporting this research in *The Economist* (April 2000, pp.83-86) argued that many individuals do not believe that the concepts of ‘business’ and ‘ethics’ go well together. It quoted an American journalist as saying that it is ‘a contradiction in terms, like jumbo shrimp’ (2000, p.83). Instead, *The Economist* put forward the argument (see also arguments presented above by Bakan, 2004) that many individuals believe that businesses should not be considering ethics above shareholder value and if society wishes businesses to adopt this stance then the government needs to intervene within the economy to regulate industries in this respect.

In the light of the above discussion, it could be argued, within the context of Anglo-American capitalism, even if a business has produced a Value Statement or a code of business values some individuals may ignore it in order to maximise the short-term profitability of the business (which would potentially impact upon their individual bonuses and profit sharing as this is frequently linked to share price); unless the business has successfully inculcated ‘shared values’ across the organisation, or the business is operating within the context of one of the situations described in Section 3.1 of this thesis i.e. a niche market position. It is argued by Di Norcia and Tigner (2000) that:

‘Discerning the motives that lead people to make a business decision is important, for it facilitates the moral evaluation of that decision, which is essential to developing an ethical organisation’ (p.1).

They also point out and suggest that ‘multiple motives’ are often involved in the making of a business decision and these motives may not be morally based, for example, they may also relate to finance, administration and personal concerns.

It can therefore be assumed that when decisions are made within businesses the individuals making the decisions will possess varying degrees of ‘ethical knowledge’ and judgement subject to cost and the imperatives of profitability.

This discussion has reviewed, differences in systemic values presupposed by different national approaches to economic competitiveness. It has also identified the conditions

under which companies may be able to depart from the systemic values associated with Anglo-American capitalism. Finally, it has also identified the different kinds of conflict that may occur at the level of the company. However, the advent of economic globalisation has raised the possibility that the different systemic values associated with the varieties of capitalism may be converging on the Anglo-American model. It is therefore important to consider this possibility.

3.3. The influence of globalisation upon the varieties of capitalism

The effect of globalisation upon the different forms or varieties of capitalism was briefly touched upon when it was noted that Dore (2000) refers to his description of the form of welfare capitalism present within Japan as a 'model'. This is because he argues that recently Japan and Germany have been experiencing both internal and external pressures to follow '*trends*', which he calls '*marketization plus financialization*' in order to adopt a form of capitalism closer to that found within America and Britain.

This view is echoed by Jacoby (2005) who argues that during the 1980s 'ideas' relating to business management passed from Japan (the east) to America (the west), for example relating to quality management, where as today this process appears to have reversed with;

'a huge debate in Japan (and other countries) over the costs and benefits of American modes of employee relations and corporate governance' (p.3).

Jacoby (2005) points out that much literature is now being produced relating to 'convergence' i.e. national economic systems becoming similar due to the influence of globalisation, he states that:

'the focus of research and debate has shifted from analysing institutional variety to predicting how quickly U.S. patterns of regulation, risk-sharing, and governance will take hold around the world' (p.1).

He describes several 'forces' that are currently impacting upon Japanese capitalism as a result of 'globalisation', which over time, may change the nature of its predominant characteristics, to resemble those of American or Anglo-Saxon capitalism. For example, Japanese businesses are now expected to compete in markets that are characterised by 'risk' and 'speed' which conflicts with their traditional organisational decision making processes, based upon consensus management: shares in Japanese companies are also being purchased by foreign investors whose expectations (in terms of the share price) reflect those of American or Anglo-Saxon investors. As a result, Japanese businesses are finding it difficult to maintain their workforce during periods of recession and their shareholders' interests are taking priority over their employees.

However, Jacoby notes that there may be resistance to the observations described above, by Japanese liberals and the 'conservative nationals'. This is because the way in which American and British firms are structured, governed and conduct their employment practices conflict with the cultural and 'social norms' present in Japan, particularly those relating to the 'social responsibilities' of business organisations. He also points out that concern is being expressed that a movement towards American business practices will lead to an erosion of the, 'comparative organisational advantage' currently being experienced by Japanese businesses in terms of:

'customer and supplier relations, product quality, incremental innovation, firm-specific human-capital formation, and speed of execution' (p.8).

He finally concludes that:

'there is evidence to support the conclusion both that convergence is occurring and that varieties of capitalism endure and remain significant in the modern global economy' (p.174).

It can be argued that Hall and Soskice (2001) are also sceptical of the argument that globalisation may lead to a 'convergence' of the different forms or 'varieties' of capitalism, for the following reasons. Firstly, they suggest that fundamental differences continue to exist between those businesses operating in liberal market economies compared with those operating in co-ordinated market economies. These differences

have developed in response to the institutions present within their respective economies that either reflect market or non-market co-ordination. Secondly, Hall and Soskice (2001) believe that their views relating to the differences between liberal and coordinated market economies call into question the underlying assumption of globalisation relating to, 'the monolithic political dynamic'. This is because they believe that the 'dynamics' vary between the economic systems. For example, they argue that when faced with high levels of international competition liberal market economies would respond through deregulation and the 'weakening of organised labour'. Where as coordinated market economies would lead to the formation of 'cross-class coalitions' as workers and employers with similar interests and views on the nature of the 'regulatory regime' would unite against those opposing their view.

In summary, it is apparent that despite the increasing literature and research relating to globalisation and its affect upon economic systems, it can be seen from the arguments outlined above, that at this time there is little conclusive evidence to suggest that all economies are converging on the Anglo-American model. However, even if there is some global convergence in the systemic values presupposed by Anglo-American capitalism the question of other sources of value that students may embrace which might challenge these systemic values needs to be considered.

4. Other sources of values in society

If there are conflicts within business as to appropriate business values and between business organisations and individuals within them, then this suggests that there are other sources for the values individuals hold. Two of the principal alternative sources that will be considered in this thesis are those of education and gender.

The first major work in sociology to examine the sources of values in society was that of Emile Durkheim (1961, 1973). Durkheim argued that the systematic study of the origins and nature of values in society was integral to understanding society. But he also thought that in modern societies, in his case France, education needed to be integral to the development of values:

'All development of individualism has the effect of opening moral consciousness to new ideas and rendering it more demanding. The educator who would undertake to rationalize education without foreseeing the development of new sentiments, without preparing that development, and directing it, would fail in one aspect of his task' (1961,p12).

It is significant that Durkheim elevated education to being a principal agent for the development of appropriate values and moral reasoning because he saw education and the values that it would express as central to the development of the nation state. In this, his views would be opposed to those of neo-Marxists such as Bowles and Gintis (1976) who argued that the purpose of schooling was to prepare students for their classed position within capitalist work. This is a view that is endorsed, with some qualifications, by Apple (1990) who sees education as failing to give credence to alternative views and values that students may bring to school:

'Students in most schools and in urban centres in particular are presented with a view that serves to legitimate the existing social order since, change, conflict and men and women as creators as well as receivers of values and institutions are systematically neglected. Now something else must be stressed once again – the fact that these meaning structures are obligatory. Students receive them from persons who are 'significant others' in their lives, through their teachers, other role models and elsewhere' (p.102).

While Apple is subtler in his approach when compared to Bowles and Gintis (1976) he still takes the view that capitalism generates a dominant set of values. This thesis will be able to illuminate the extent to which the views of these neo-Marxist scholars are supported by the evidence of this study in what they may consider to be the most 'capitalist oriented' of subjects –Business Studies. Although it will also be recalled that in the Introduction it was noted that the initial impetus for this thesis came from the view that in Britain there had been an anti-business culture which had contributed to the decline of the British economy.

Given the discussion above about conflicting values *within* business, it is quite possible that schools convey a different set of values to those presupposed by Anglo-American

capitalism. Schools, reflecting Dewey's (1916) interest in the ethics necessary for democracy, often emphasise tolerance and respect for persons and frequently the importance of caring for others. In addition, schools may not only seek to convey particular values but also ask students to consider and reason through situations where values come into conflict. Rather than the kind of image conveyed by neo-Marxist writers schools at least attempt to engage students in the difficult conflicts that ethical dilemmas often present. Moreover, schools often seek to teach about the values relating to particular roles and problems that society is interested in such as citizenship (Olssen, 2006) and environmental sustainability (Scott and Gough, 2003). The question then that is addressed in this thesis is when confronted with what may be contrasting values to those of Anglo-American capitalism, how do students respond?

However, it is not only the role of schools that are important in this context but also, relatedly, the issue of gender. It has been argued that for reasons of socialisation that women take a different approach to questions of value to those of men. Therefore, it may be that with respect to the values related to Business Studies women understand, think and act differently.

5. Gender and values

Researchers such as McClelland (1975) and Woolf (1929) argue that gender has a major affect upon the moral reasoning of individuals, for example, McClelland states that:

'Sex role turns out to be one of the most important determinants of human behaviour; psychologists have found sex differences in their studies from the moment they started doing empirical research' (1975, p.81)

and 'the values of women differ very often from the values which have been made by the other sex' (Woolf: 1929, p.76). She qualifies this statement as follows: *'It is the masculine values that prevail (ibid).'*

Therefore, if gender does influence moral reasoning, i.e. the moral reasoning of women differs from that of men, the issue of how it differs needs to be investigated in order to account for any gender differences in the research findings. Gilligan (1982) has researched and written much on this issue. In the early 1970's she worked as a research assistant with Lawrence Kohlberg (1958, 1981) who created his '*Six Stages Of Moral Judgement*'⁸.

The stages of moral thought or judgment were developed following research conducted on eighty-four American boys over a period of more than twenty years, from childhood to adulthood. During the course of the research, the boys were given a series of hypothetical moral dilemmas to complete e.g. the Heinz dilemma⁹. The reasoning that they applied, when resolving these dilemmas, at a specific age, was used to create Kohlberg's 'universal' stages of moral development. In so doing, Kohlberg developed a 'tool' that could be used to describe 'general' levels of moral thought. This tool was independent from the moral dilemma or decision being considered.

Gilligan (1982) is critical of Kohlberg's six stages of moral judgement because in the '*research from which Kohlberg derives his theory, females simply do not exist* (p. 18).' She argues that when applying the moral judgments of women to Kohlberg's 'six stages' they appear 'deficient' in terms of their moral development, as they tend to relate to his 'third stage'. This stage describes morality in 'interpersonal' terms with 'goodness' being associated with helping and pleasing other individuals. Gilligan

⁸ Kohlberg's (1958, 1981) Six Stages Of Moral Judgement are divided into three levels. The first is level A – the Preconventional Level, which contains Stages One and Two; these stages relate to an individualist and egocentric understanding of fairness. Level B – Conventional Level, comprises Stages Three and Four. These stages view fairness in terms of the individual's relationship with other individuals and also with society. The final level is Level C – Post Conventional and Principled Level, this level comprises Stages Five and Six. Stage Five relates to an individual who considers conflict between moral and legal issues and finds it problematic to 'integrate' them. Stage Six applies to individuals who understand morality and pursue it as an 'end' rather than as a 'means' to an 'end'.

⁹ 'In Europe, a woman was near death from a very bad disease, a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctor's thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost him to make. He paid \$200 for the radium and charged \$2,000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could get together only about \$1,000, which was half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, 'No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it'. Heinz got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife' (Kohlberg: 1981:12).

(1982) argues that Kohlberg and Kramer (1969) account for women conceiving 'goodness' in this manner due to the fact that 'mature women' focus upon the home during their lives. If instead women participated in the 'traditional arena of male activity' they would reach stage four, which places relationships as subordinate to rules and stages five and six that associates 'rules' with 'universal principles of justice'.

As a result of her criticisms of Kohlberg's 'six stages', Gilligan (1982) conducted her own research into the moral judgments and thinking of women. She conducted three studies. The first study was based upon twenty-five college students, who were chosen at random from a class of students who had opted to study moral and political choice; they were interviewed at college and also five years after their graduation. This study related to their identity and moral development while the second study related to abortion decisions. Twenty-nine women were interviewed early in their pregnancies when they were considering abortion and the study examined the relationship between experience and thought and the part played by 'conflict in development'. The final study used the hypothesis formulated from the previous two studies. It involved a total sample of 144 males and females of similar social, occupational and intellectual characteristics at nine different stages of the life cycle, at ages 6-9, 11, 15, 19, 22, 25-27, 35, 45 and 60. Eight males and eight females were interviewed at each age, of these and two males and two females were interviewed more 'intensely' at each age. The study concerned conceptions of self and morality, moral conflict and choice and used hypothetical moral dilemmas.

In the light of these studies, Gilligan (1982) formulated the following conclusions: the moral development of women focused upon the development of intimacy, relationships and caring for others, rather than the form of moral development described by Kohlberg that related to issues of fairness, justice and the development of rules:

'Sensitivity to the needs of others and the assumption of responsibility for taking care lead women to attend to voices other than their own and to include in their judgment other points of view' (Gilligan: 1982, p.16).

She elaborated further upon this by arguing that the ‘moral weakness’ of women, i.e. the difficulty that they find in making judgements, is also ‘inseparable’ from their moral strength, which relates to concern over responsibilities and relationships. Therefore, the difficulty experienced by women in making judgments may be related to the care and concern that they possess for others. Gilligan (1982) felt that:

‘Women not only define themselves in a context of human relationships but also judge themselves in terms of their ability to care’ (p.17).

This means that women’s moral development relates to the ‘knowledge’ that relationships, ‘intimacy’ and care for others are important. She believes that the ‘stages’ of women’s moral judgement commence with concern for survival then relate to goodness and eventually to a belief that care is *‘the most adequate guide to the resolution of conflicts in human relationships’* (p.105).

The differences highlighted by Gilligan (1982) in her studies between the moral development and moral judgement of men and women i.e. that women place importance upon relationships, intimacy and caring for others whereas men focus upon rules, fairness and justice, will need to be considered during the analysis of the data obtained during this study, particularly, the information obtained from the business scenarios, which were designed in a similar manner to that of the Heinz dilemma. This is because being aware of and applying Gilligan’s theories to this study will throw light upon the question of whether or not the relationship between education and the values students’ expresses are gendered.

6. Understanding the communication of values in Business Studies

This chapter has reviewed the characteristics of and values that are structural to or intrinsic to the different varieties of capitalism and considered the activities of

businesses operating within the context of Anglo-American capitalism, as it is evident that their behaviour does not always reflect the 'ideal'. The influence of globalisation upon the different forms or 'varieties of capitalism' has also been addressed, as has alternative sources of values arising from education and relatedly gender. It was mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis that these issues needed to be examined in order to 'test' the supposition put forward by Bowles and Gintis (1976) that a correspondence exists between those values transmitted in education and the economic system in which it is embedded i.e. it has been necessary to discern those values that are intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism in order to see if the empirical evidence obtained during this study indicates that values of this nature are being communicated during Business Studies lessons.

6.1. The communication and transmission of values during Business Studies lessons

Having considered the nature of the values that are structural to or intrinsic to the different forms of capitalism; this section of Chapter One will now review the methods used to communicate or transmit values down the policy chain from the policy makers to the Business Studies students.

For the purpose of this thesis two terms will frequently be utilised; 'transmit' and 'communicate'. The term 'transmit' will be used to describe a communication that has been sent from the sender i.e. the teacher or policy maker, to the receiver i.e. the teacher or the student and it has been accepted or endorsed by the receiver. The term communicate will be used to describe a message or view which has been passed from the sender to the receiver but it might not have been taken on board, accepted in totality or endorsed by the receiver.

6.2. The communication of values in education

When considering the methods used to communicate values the 'overt/planned', 'hidden' and 'received' curriculum will be considered. Kelly (1999) refers to the 'planned' curriculum, 'hidden' curriculum and 'received' curriculum as follows: the

‘planned’ curriculum is described with reference to course materials, for example, the ‘syllabus’ or ‘prospectuses’; the ‘hidden curriculum’ is described by Kelly (1999) as:

‘Those things which pupils learn at school because of the way in which the work of the school is planned and organised and through the materials provided but which are not in themselves overtly included in the planning or even the consciousness of those responsible for the schools arrangements;’
(p.4)

and the received curriculum is the, ‘*reality of the pupil’s experience*’ (p.5).

As the term ‘hidden curriculum’ can be used to describe the unintended views, beliefs and practices of the individuals that designed it and teach it, it is important that it is taken into account. Kelly (1999) states the following with reference to the content of the ‘hidden curriculum’:

‘Implicit in any set of arrangements are the attitudes and values of those who create them, and these will be communicated to pupils in this accidental and perhaps even sinister way. The factor is of course of particular significance when the curriculum is planned and imposed by government’ (p.4).

As a result of the part played by the government in the creation of the ‘hidden curriculum’ it has been argued by Apple (1990) that social and economic control can occur within schools. Apple (1990) also notes that due to the association of the ‘hidden curriculum’ with institutions that create power within society it can be argued that schools are reproducing the class structure that is present in society as a whole through the hidden curriculum. This is reflected in the teaching of ‘cultural and economic values’ as only a limited number of students are enabled to further their studies due to: *‘their ‘ability’ to contribute to the maximisation of production of the technical knowledge also needed by the economy’* (p.61).

Bowles and Gintis (1976) also contemplated the nature of the hidden curriculum when formulating the ‘Correspondence Principle.’ They argue that:

'The educational system helps integrate youth into the economic system, we believe, through a structural correspondence between its social relations and those of production.' (p.2)

Bowles and Gintis (1988) believe, for example, that the hierarchy present within the work place is replicated within the, 'social relationships' that prevail within educational institutions; i.e. students are subordinate to their teachers and that there is a correlation between the exit level of the student from education and their entry into the 'hierarchical division of labour' found within the working environment, i.e. graduates would enter the hierarchy at a higher level than non-graduates, see item (v) in the typology below.

In the light of the arguments presented above by Kelly (1999), Apple (1990) and Bowles and Gintis (1988) in relation to the hidden curriculum, it is not unreasonable to assume that some of the teachers participating in this study may not realise that they are communicating a 'hidden' curriculum during their Business Studies lessons. Instead they may believe that the content of their communications are value neutral, as they are not explicitly stating value preferences (see item (i) in the typology below).

Despite the arguments presented by Apple (1990) and Bowles and Gintis (1988), which are outlined above, Ball and Bowe (1992) believe that the power of the state to control the 'outcomes' of the implementation of curriculum policy is limited. This is because of the differing interpretations by the implementers down the policy chain, where their understanding will be informed by the organisation and context in which it is implemented. When considering the implementation of the National Curriculum, Ball and Bowe (1992) argue that the National Curriculum was:

'Not so much being 'implemented' in schools as being 'recreated', not so much 'reproduced' as 'produced' (pp.114-115).

This view was also echoed by Kelly (1999):

'The fact that, since teachers and pupils are human, the realities of any course will never fully match up to the hopes and intentions of those who have planned it' (p.5).

Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the 'hidden curriculum' will exactly mirror the 'received' curriculum as teachers may vary their communications to reflect their own personal value preferences (see typology iii and iv below) or vary in their desire to remain (in their opinion) value neutral i.e. they may state both sides in an argument relating to values or they may choose to remain silent. It must be noted that silence can also assume or signify a value position – that which dominates or prevails within any given economy. For example Apple (1990) implies in his arguments that the values that dominate the economic system in which the educational institution is found will be reflected within its 'hidden curriculum' – see typology ii below.

In order to understand the different ways in which values might be communicated through education we can develop a typology. This typology has been generated with regard to the work of Apple (1990), Ball and Bowe (1992), Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Kelly (1999):

(i) Where teachers would raise questions of ethics in relation to business practices for the students to consider. This may be seen as a liberal interpretation of education in which values are raised and discussed but where the teacher does not seek to influence students' views. In a sense this can be seen as having a 'neutral' view as to value issues on the grounds that stating a preference may be seen as a form of bias. However, in the light of the discussion above it is only neutral in that the economic context is taken as a given – see the discussion below.

(ii) Where value issues, which could have been raised, are not. The distinction between (i) and (ii) may be that while there may be ethical concerns about particular business practices there is silence or a tacit assumption that for example the capitalist system or a market approach to the public sector (see below) was taken as a given. This is the kind of approach that can be inferred from the work of Apple (1990).

(iii) Where a teacher states her/his own value preferences but does not seek to convince others. Here again this can be seen as a teacher not behaving in a neutral way but where there is recognition that it is more 'honest' perhaps to express views because students will assume that teachers have a value position.

(iv) Where there was a direct attempt at transmitting or inculcating values.

(v) Where values are embedded in routine practices such as those relating to classroom management that may be form of discipline that readies students for the workforce. Such values will be referred to as work socialisation values. The work of Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Kelly (1999) examined above is especially relevant here.

The arguments referred to above (those of Kelly, 1999; Apple, 1990 and Bowles and Gintis, 1976) tend to assume that the values acquired through education endorse or accept capitalism i.e. that the students are 'passive' and are transmitted values which reflect Anglo-American capitalism, for example that the main objective of businesses is to maximise short-term profitability. However, it could be argued that a situation may exist in which the students are being communicated values related to Anglo-American capitalism during their Business Studies lessons but as these values 'conflict' with their own personal values or views relating to business organisations they do not accept them. For example, profit maximisation may conflict with a student's personal values relating to environmental sustainability. This is because the students may perceive that environmental objectives are being sacrificed by business organisations in an attempt to reduce costs and maximise profits.

In summary it could be argued that the literature produced, which assumes that the values acquired through education endorse or accept capitalism, fail to recognise 'conflict' i.e. the values that are intrinsic or structural to Anglo-American capitalism may conflict with the other sources of personal values and expectations of the students that have been discussed. Nor do they consider the possibility that students may come to a reflexive and reasoned position with respect to particular value conflicts. This being the case, a methodology needs to be developed which takes into

account the nature of students' views, how they may change over time and how they come to the views they hold.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Research objectives

The previous chapter provided the direction in terms of the research methodologies to be adopted. In particular the study needs to incorporate the following characteristics:

1. That it is longitudinal. The reason for this is that a snapshot study may lead to errors in the conclusions that can be drawn. For example, if a lesson was observed in which it appeared that a particular set of values was being communicated and that following the lesson students who were interviewed related the same values it might be concluded that there was a cause and effect present. In reality, the communication of values and the way they are received by students is likely to be far more complex. One of the fundamental problems in the neo-Marxist literature identified in the previous chapter is that it has either asserted the effectiveness of education in transmitting or relaying values or as in the case of Bowles and Gintis (1976) their empirical work only provided a snapshot of attitudes. It is important, therefore, to relate what is taught in lessons to students' views over a longer time period: in this case for the period of their study in the sixth form. Longitudinal study is more likely to identify other influences in relation to values apart from those relating to education over a reasonable time period.
2. That more than one institution and one course (e.g. A-Level Business Studies) are researched because there may be differences in the values being communicated, either because of institutional or personal teacher characteristics. To this end 'A' level Business Studies students and GNVQ

Advanced Business Studies students were studied in two colleges, 'Smith' and 'Jones'.

3. That it allows for discussion and reflection on the values being discussed. We saw in the previous chapter that if we make the assumption that students are not passive recipients of views but are assumed to be able to reason about values, then it follows that the research methods employed enable students the opportunity for such reflection. Two methods are adopted in this respect: focus group sessions and the presentation of scenarios that can be discussed by the students.
4. That classroom observations are undertaken in order to see whether 'messages' relating to the hidden curriculum are being communicated.
5. Interviews needed to be conducted down the policy chain, from policy makers, through to the teachers and students to see whether the kind of transmission of values assumed by neo-Marxist commentators obtain and what differences in terms of the values held there are between these actors in education. An opportunity sample of seven influential policy makers with respect to Business Studies were interviewed. Five teachers participated, Hugo, Georgiana and Nick taught 'A' level at Smith's College and Amanda GNVQ at Smith's College; Melena taught 'A' level Business Studies at Jones College. Such a strategy permitted the data that was obtained from the student interviews, focus groups and scenario discussions to be triangulated with the views of teachers and their observed practice in class.

Finally, the study began with a questionnaire to all the students in order to see if any general data patterns emerged that would be worth following up through the other methods employed.

The research took place in five phases and lasted for approximately two academic years (1999-2001). The timing of the different phases was important in order to track and monitor the perceptions, views and values of the students throughout the duration of their course. By adopting this methodology any changes in the students perceptions of

‘values’ could be related to their Business Studies lessons, or any other external variable as yet not considered. Phase One took place towards the beginning of their first year, Phase Two at the end of their first year, Phase Three at the start of their second year, Phase Four half way through their second year and Phase Five at the end of their second year or the end of their course.

2. The research methods employed

Before deciding to embark upon a form of longitudinal research both the advantages and disadvantages of this type of study were considered. It has the advantage of being able to illustrate the ‘growth’ and ‘development’ of the individuals under study such that change can be seen at a ‘micro’ level. In principle distinctions can be drawn between ‘chance occurrences’ and ‘real’ trends, the ‘dynamics’ of change can also be seen (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000).

The main disadvantages of longitudinal studies are that they take a long time to complete. This raises the problem of ‘sample mortality’ due to the individuals in the sample ‘dropping out’ or refusing to participate further. This then raises questions about continuity in establishing whether there have been changes in students’ views about the questions asked (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). Additionally, when subjects are interviewed on several occasions over time they may become more ‘sensitive’ to variables that they previously would not have noticed and sometimes their behaviour is influenced by the study which may influence their thinking in ways that otherwise they would have not have done (Riley, 1963, p. 176).

Longitudinal studies can take different forms. A cohort study occurs when a specified population is monitored over a stated period of time and selective sampling occurs, Borg and Gall (1979, p.174). This means that some members of the cohort will not be involved in all of the stages of the research due to the nature of the sampling. A panel study involves the same individual or group of individuals being studied over time.

The research conducted with students at Smith’s College and at Jones’s College can be classified as a longitudinal panel study. When the questionnaires and scenarios were

undertaken, all of the students participating in the Business Studies lesson on the day of the questionnaire and scenarios were included; there was no form of selective sampling. It could also be argued that the focus groups conducted with the students can be classified as a form of panel study. This is because despite the initial sampling (when the members of the focus groups were decided upon) the same individuals (where possible) were involved in each of the five focus groups.

In the event there was attrition within these groups over the two years. As regards the student questionnaires, the sample numbers dropped from 58 to 34 (Table 3.1:). Equally, those participating in the focus groups and scenario analyses also changed during this period, see Table 3.3: for details of changes to the composition of the focus groups.

2.1. Interviews with policy makers and teachers

(i) Policy makers

The first group interviewed were the seven policy makers who had either a direct or indirect impact upon the content of the Business Studies syllabus, policy implications relating to the part played by Business Studies in the curriculum, the materials read and studied by Business Studies students and Higher Education for students. The positions of these policy makers were as follows: Policy Maker One is a retired senior civil servant and life Peer; Policy Maker Two is a senior civil servant with the DfEE; Policy Maker Three is a teacher, author and Chief Examiner in Business Studies; Policy Maker Four is a senior lecturer and consultant for Nuffield; Policy Maker Five works for the EBEA and is a writer/consultant for Nuffield; Policy Maker Six holds a senior position at UCAS and Policy Maker Seven is a senior member of staff at QCA.

These individuals were interviewed on a one-to-one basis. The objective of the interviews was to find out how they perceived Business Studies in relation to other subjects being taught; to ascertain the nature of the values they felt should be taught during Business Studies lessons and within the curriculum as a whole i.e. should the teachers be transmitting values that are specifically related to the structural values of Anglo-American capitalism and finally to discover whether they considered the values

being taught and/or transmitted in Business Studies lessons to be the same as those held by businesses. In other words, should the business values taught in education be the same as those espoused by businesses. The reason for asking this question relates to the point made in the Introduction by Beck (1998), as to whether business values should be seen as the subject of critical reflection or whether they should be inculcated in ways that socialise students for the world of work. The information obtained from these interviews would then be compared and contrasted with the data obtained from the teachers and students participating in the study.

Due to the fact that the researcher planned to compare the data obtained from the interviews with other elements of the study and also wished to obtain explanations and detailed responses from the subjects being interviewed, a semi-structured interviewing approach was taken. It was thought that a structured interview would not be flexible enough to take account of the in-depth views and explanations that were required from the subjects participating in the interviews and an unstructured approach would make comparisons difficult. Broadly, the same questions were asked to all seven participants but some additional questions were inserted that were specifically relevant to the role held by the individual being questioned, for example when an 'A' level Chief Examiner was questioned they were asked the following question:

'When creating the 'A' level Business Studies Syllabus, what factors do you take into consideration, what is your overall aim or objective?'

See Appendix Three for details of the standard questions posed to each of the subjects participating in the Policy Maker Research.

The policy makers were all interviewed on a one-to-one basis in their place of employment. It was decided not to audiotape the interviews as the researcher considered it inappropriate because it would hinder the rapport established during the interview; the researcher and the subject would be 'conscious' of the tape recorder and some of the interviews comprised sensitive, 'off the record' information. Instead the researcher took notes during the interview. This method of recording the interviewing worked well as the subjects being interviewed were sensitive to the need to write down

their responses and therefore allowed time for the researcher to do this before answering the next question.

As with the other elements of this study the interviews conducted with the policy makers were written up on the same day as they were conducted, so as not to lose any of the information recorded at the time of the interview at a later date.

In interviews:

‘the researcher explores a few general topics to help uncover the participant’s views but otherwise respects how the participant frames and structures the responses...The Participants perspective on the phenomenon of interest should unfold, not as the researcher views it’ (Marshall and Rossman: 2006: p.101).

The only exception to the above was that during the interview conducted with Policy Maker Seven, she indicated during the interview that she needed more time to consider her response to the question, *‘What business values do you believe are being transmitted during an ‘A’ level Business Studies lesson’* and subsequently responded by e-mail at a later date (see Chapter Three for details of the e-mail).

However, interviewing policy makers raises particular difficulties in the sense that they are powerful. Ball (1994) has argued that researchers should be aware of the point that policy makers will have their own agendas and it is these that they may wish to present, rather than presenting the kinds of view that the researcher is seeking. There are several strategies for seeking to address this issue. Firstly, the guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality (see the ethics section below) may allay concerns that they have in speaking frankly. Secondly, allowing for open-ended questions it is possible that policy makers will raise issues and perhaps be inconsistent in ways that will allow exploration of the issues being discussed.

(ii) The teachers

The second group interviewed were the teachers of GNVQ Advanced and ‘A’ level Business Studies at both Smith’s College and Jones’s College, i.e. those lecturers teaching the students participating in the research. The teachers were initially

interviewed, towards the beginning of the two-year course, on a one-to-one basis using a questionnaire, which contained a set of predetermined questions. These initial interviews could therefore be classified as 'structured' and were designed to compare the response from the five teachers and to provide an indication of the questions that would be asked in subsequent semi-structured interviews with them. The questions in these initial interviews tried to establish the nature of the 'values' possessed by the individual members of staff i.e. did they reflect those values intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism; to ascertain the level of importance that the member of staff associated with their 'values' and to discover if they tried to transmit or communicate their 'values' to the students during lessons. A copy of the questions posed can be found in Appendix Two – Teacher Interview Questions.

One-to-one interviews provide a more in-depth insight into the views of the teachers than through the completion of a questionnaire. If the teachers do not fully understand the meaning of a question being asked they could ask to have it qualified and the interview can also be paced according to the speed that the respondent can fully answer all of the questions (Cohen, Manion and Morrison: 2000). As it was intended to obtain in-depth information from the teachers of the students participating in the study, it was decided that one-to-one interviews would be an appropriate research tool. Here, the interviews took a semi-structured form or 'standardized open-ended interview' (Patton, 1980). The type of interview used when interviewing the staff at Smith's College and at Jones's College fell into this category.

The main disadvantages of using interview techniques are that the interviewee may not be totally honest with the interviewer due to a lack of anonymity, since they knew the interviewer: one-to-one interviews are more time consuming to complete than questionnaires and interviewer bias can 'creep' into the responses provided by the respondent (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). As only five individuals were participating in this part of the research, the amount of time taken to complete the interviews was not of major concern. It was more important to gather in-depth, 'rich' data that could help the triangulation process. This is because it was anticipated that the information obtained from the teacher interviews could be compared and contrasted with the findings obtained from the student questionnaires, focus groups and from the classroom observations.

The information gathered during the teacher interviews was written up on the same day as the interview. The responses gathered were individually analysed and reviewed by the researcher with reference to the research objectives, noting the teacher's view relating to the transmission of values during their lessons, as this information would, at a later date, be compared and contrasted with the data obtained during the lesson observations.

2.2. Researching the students

2.2.1. Student questionnaires

The research conducted at Smith's College and at Jones's College took place in five phases over a two-year period. The students participating in the research were studying either 'A' level or GNVQ Advanced Business Studies. In total four different classes participated in the research; two 'A' level classes (Class One and Class Two) and one GNVQ class (Class Three) from Smith's College and one 'A' level class from Jones's College (Class Four).

It was intended that the findings obtained from the quantitative research would help the researcher: discern the nature of the values possessed by the Business Studies students; distinguish between business objectives and the values that may underlie the objectives; to account for the increasing numbers of Business Studies students and to monitor changes in the students' responses over time.

It can be seen from the table over (Table 3.1.) that questionnaires were given to the students on three occasions, during Phases One, Three and Five of the research and scenarios during Phases Two and Four (see Appendix One, for a copy of the questionnaires that were distributed to the students).

Table 3.1: - Student Questionnaires and Scenarios

Phase Of Research	Class One Smith's College	Class Two Smith's College	Class Three Smith's College	Class Four Jones's College
Phase One -Questionnaire Date Administered	February 2000	February 2000	February 2000	February 2000
Total of 58 respondents	17 respondents	14 respondents	16 respondents	11 respondents
Phase Two -Scenarios Date Administered	20 th June 2000	3 rd July 2000	27 th June 2000	23 rd June 2000
Total of 50 respondents	18 respondents	14 respondents	10 respondents	8 respondents
Phase Three -Questionnaire Date Administered	Nov. 2000	Nov. 2000	Nov. 2000	Nov. 2000
Total of 45 respondents	15 respondents	11 respondents	10 respondents	9 respondents
Phase Four -Scenarios Date Administered	26 th March 2001	4 th April 2001	28 th March 2001	17 th March 2001
Total of 42 respondents	12 respondents	9 respondents	11 respondents	10 respondents
Phase Five - Questionnaire Date Administered	May 2001	May 2001	May 2001	May 2001
Total of 34 respondents	8 respondents	8 respondents	10 respondents	8 respondents

The decision to use questionnaires for the students was taken for several reasons. At the time of the study, the researcher was in full-time employment. As there were a large number of students participating in the study it would have been very time consuming to carry out one-to-one interviews. The desire to obtain both qualitative and quantitative data could be achieved through the use of open and closed questions. The questionnaires could be administered without the presence of the researcher, i.e. the teacher of the class could hand them out to the students and finally, it was anticipated that the questionnaires would generate data of a general nature, that could then be compared and contrasted with the data obtained from the other research methods used (e.g. focus groups) and also used as a basis for future interviews. For example, information was sought relating to why the students had decided to study Business Studies and which objectives and values they perceived as being the most important to businesses.

Having decided to use questionnaires the next consideration related to timing: When should they be administered? One of the main objectives of this study was to try to determine if the values possessed by the Business Studies students changed over time. It was decided that the students would be given a questionnaire to complete at the beginning and end of their first year and at the beginning, middle and end of their second year (see Table 3.1. for the dates that the questionnaires and scenarios were administered).

When designing the questionnaires several factors were taken into consideration, for example, the length of time that the student had been studying the subject, the sequencing and type of question asked, ethical issues, the reactions of the respondents to the questions asked and the subsequent analysis of the questionnaire.

It was considered that the length of time that a student had been studying Business Studies could influence their knowledge of the subject and its terminology. Hence, the first questionnaire issued to the students did not use the term 'value' or 'business value'. Instead, the students were asked:

'What do you think are the main objectives of businesses?'

On subsequent questionnaires the students were asked more directly about business values, for example:

'What do you believe is meant by the term 'value'?

'Are business values taught on your 'A' level or GNVQ Business Studies course?'

The sequencing of the questions was considered important to try to ensure the students completed the whole questionnaire and didn't 'give-up' part way. As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p.257) note:

'The ordering of the questionnaire is important, for early questions may set the tone of, or the mind-set of the respondent to later questions'.

They describe how the usual format of a questionnaire initially utilises questions asking for factual information which are considered 'unthreatening', there is then a movement toward the use of closed questions seeking opinions or attitudes and finally open ended questions are included within the questionnaire which probe for more 'sensitive' data. This was taken into account when designing the questionnaire.

The types of question asked needed to be carefully chosen, in terms of whether they would be open, closed or dichotomous. The latter require a yes/no response, as these can be completed quickly and 'force' a response from the respondent. Although, it is also argued by Oppenheim (1992) that closed questions do not permit the respondent to elaborate upon their response.

Open questions have the advantage of allowing the respondent to explain fully, justify and qualify their response as they do not have to restrict their response to a given category or tick box. The disadvantages associated with these types of questions are that they can be more difficult than closed questions to 'code' and 'classify'.

Having considered both the advantages and disadvantages of using open and closed questions it was decided to use a combination of the two types of question in the questionnaires, as both qualitative and quantitative data was required. Further issues considered in respect of questionnaires design related to the desire to avoid 'leading questions' as these would introduce bias into the research, to use 'simple' language in the construction of the questions so as to avoid mis-interpretation, not to ask questions which could potentially 'annoy' or 'upset' the respondent and on ethical grounds not to ask questions that would directly infringe the 'privacy' of the respondent.

Once the questionnaires were designed they were piloted with three students who were being taught by the researcher. Two of the students were members of an 'A' level class and one a member of a GNVQ group. In order to test the understanding of the students

a strong and a weak student were selected from the 'A' level class. Following the pilot, slight changes were made to the wording used.

Upon completion of the questionnaire design, it was then necessary to determine which students would participate in the study. It was decided that the 'A' level classes that the researcher did not teach at Smith's College would participate, as well as a GNVQ Advanced class that was, in part, taught by the researcher. The intention was to eliminate bias arising from familiarity with the students by using groups of students who, where possible, were not being taught by the researcher. Unfortunately, as there was only one GNVQ Advanced class at Smith's College, in part taught by the researcher, the desire to eliminate all possible forms of bias may not have been achieved. An 'A' level class from Jones's College was also included in the research. Due to the smaller size of the college they only had one 'A' level Business Studies class. It was decided to use a group from Jones's College due to its proximity to Smith's College and also because they studied the same 'A' level syllabus as that taught at Smith's College.

As there were only four classes participating in the study, it was decided that all of the students attending the classes would be asked to complete the questionnaire. It was intended that the study should generate 'rich' data to produce plausible explanations, rather than generalisations, and the data and information to be gathered from issuing the questionnaires to four classes was felt sufficient to provide this.

Due to the desire to protect the anonymity of the students (which might otherwise have inhibited their full participation in the research process) the name and gender of the respondent was not requested on the initial questionnaire. The student quantitative research could therefore not be analysed with respect to gender over time.

The main problem encountered related to attrition, for example a total of fifty-eight respondents completed the first questionnaire where as only thirty-six respondents completed the final one. There was no bias in the 'drop outs' in terms of gender i.e. a similar number of male students and female students decided to 'drop out.'

The 'drop-out' rate in this research can be accounted for by 'natural wastage', for example, the GNVQ Advanced group started with sixteen students and ended with eleven. Other factors were non-attendance due to illness or 'otherwise' and non-completion of the questionnaire: some of the students did not complete the questionnaire or only partially completed it. As the researcher was not administering all of the questionnaires, it was difficult to monitor their completion; in hindsight the researcher would have placed more 'pressure' upon the teachers to 'chase up' those students who either only partially completed the questionnaires or handed in an uncompleted questionnaire. However, this was a rather 'sensitive' area as the researcher was relying upon the teacher's co-operation in order to carry out the research, which may have been viewed as being either too much 'hassle' or too time consuming on their part. Overall, it was considered that this rate of attrition based on four classes allowed the researcher to use the quantitative data as a starting point in exploring the issues relating to the values students held. It enabled the subsequent framing of questions in relation to the focus groups. However, it is noteworthy that one distinct 'trend' or pattern in the responses started to emerge: profitability dominated the responses of the students when they were asked what the main objective of businesses was.

2.3. Student focus groups and scenarios

This part of the study comprised five focus groups. Two were taken from the 'A' level Business Studies classes (Class One and Two) and two from the GNVQ Advanced Group (Class Three) at Smith's College and one from the 'A' level Business Studies group (Class Four) at Jones's College. As part of the focus group interview students in these focus groups were asked to consider two scenarios, so that they could be discussed and compared with their focus group responses.

Focus groups were chosen because as Marshall and Rossman (2006) note:

'This method assumes that an individual's attitudes and beliefs do not form in a vacuum: People often need to listen to others' opinions and understandings to form their own. One-to-one interviews may be impoverished because the

participant had not reflected on the topic and feels unprepared to respond...the trick is to promote the participants' expression of their views through the creation of a supportive environment' (p.114).

One of the points made in the previous chapter was that values might require discussion and reflection, unless it is automatically assumed that they can simply be transmitted in education. In this respect focus groups provide such an opportunity; they may also provide a context for discussion that is more relaxed than one-to-one interviews may be.

The main disadvantages associated with focus groups and group interviewing are that a group culture may develop which affects 'individual expression', one individual may dominate the group, it may be difficult to discuss 'sensitive' issues with the group due to its format, the skills of the interviewer have to be greater than during a one-to-one interview and 'group think' may occur (Denzin and Lincoln; 1998, p.55). It is important, therefore, that the interviewer ensures that all participants are able to express their views in a situation in which they feel comfortable.

The students participating in the focus groups were chosen at random using class registers and then their agreement was sought. It was hoped that by using a system of random sampling 'friendship' groups would be avoided, an 'academic' mix would also be achieved, the members of the group would be representative of the population and individuals who might not under normal circumstances be chosen to take part i.e. poor behaviour, would be, subject to their agreement, included.

It was intended that each focus group should comprise five students. Morgan (1988) suggests that between four and twelve people are used in each group. This is because if the group is too small 'intra-group dynamics' have an overwhelming effect and if it is too large, it is difficult to manage. Unfortunately, not all of the students 'selected' volunteered to participate. Hence, only the 'A' level focus groups at Smith's College comprised the intended five individuals.

The focus groups were initially asked the same questions as those contained in the student questionnaires⁹ as a way of comparing the answers given in the discussion with those in the questionnaire. The researcher then probed the respondents for more information, clarification or more detail. For example, in the fifth phase of the research a member of Focus Group D was asked to clarify what they meant by the term ‘customers’. By starting with the same questions as those in the questionnaires, it was thought that light could be thrown on the interpretation of the questionnaire items to see in what way further consideration by the focus groups would change or elaborate upon the answers given in the questionnaires.

At the same time, the focus groups were asked to consider two scenarios.

2.4. Scenario or dilemma analysis

Scenarios or dilemmas are particularly useful in focusing on the student’s reactions to situations such as those relating to business and ethical values where there are no right answers. There are two kinds of possible scenario, either hypothetical dilemmas or those where respondents consider dilemmas that they have experienced. In this case, and following the pioneering research of Kohlberg (1958, 1981) and Gilligan (1982, 1989), hypothetical dilemmas were constructed.

There are disadvantages to this kind of research. For example, students may not take the hypothetical dilemma seriously and the choice of dilemma and the interview questions relating to it may be skewed to shape the choices that create interesting data Marshall and Rossman (2006).

The scenarios and the questions students were asked were developed in the light of discussions held with Professor Helen Haste and the research methodology utilised by Kohlberg (1958,1981). Students were initially asked what the ‘problem’ was within the dilemma – ‘how has the problem been defined’? Following these initial questions they were then asked how they would resolve the dilemma; in order to eliminate any

⁹ The students were then posed further questions that related to the original question asked in order to obtain more in-depth or ‘richer’ data.

‘spontaneous’ first decisions, counter suggests would be made by the researcher. Questions would then be asked by the researcher to clarify the solution the students had in mind and the strategies that they would use in order to achieve the stated solution. Finally, reasoning behind why the students felt that their decision/solution was the best solution or ‘preferred’ solution would be sought (see the transcripts of the student focus groups contained within Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight of this thesis for examples of the questions posed to the students).

The scenarios discussed with the focus groups, ‘Mary’ and ‘B.J. Pharmaceuticals Plc’ were designed to ‘test’ the nature of the student’s espoused values i.e. do the personal values of the students reflect those values intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism and to discern the presence of any gender effects (Kohlberg, 1958, 1981 and Gilligan, 1982, 1989) which may be in conflict with the former values. For example, when resolving the dilemmas presented in these scenarios the students might utilise personal values associated with ‘mutual sympathy’, ‘caring’ and ‘loyalty’ or they may refer to values which are structural to Anglo-American capitalism i.e. short-term profitability, the price of shares and expected returns on investments.

The reasoning adopted by the students when resolving the dilemmas presented to them in the scenarios might provide evidence that could be used to distinguish the nature of the personal values possessed by the students (see the analysis of the findings contained within Chapters Five to Eight of this thesis) and in doing so indicated areas of ‘conflict’ between the students own ‘personal’ values and those being communicated.

The same scenarios were presented and analysed over time to see if the ‘values’, views and opinions of the students changed, as this may indicate if the lecturer teaching the group or any other external factors had influenced their responses.

Below are the two scenarios that were developed and used in the research.

In ‘The Case of Mary’ the scenario was developed to see to what extent the demands of the workplace took precedence over the friendships that had been forged in the workplace. In relation to the typology constructed in the previous chapter relating to Anglo-American values, what was of concern here was the divided loyalty between

firm and friend and the issues of trust relating to both. These forms of divided loyalty may be seen in workplaces in relation to different kinds of capitalism however it can be argued that in Britain the issue of profitability and the demands relating to production may make the dilemma for Mary's co-workers particularly acute. By leaving the dilemma relatively open ended in this way it allowed for students to respond by mentioning the demands and disciplines relating to profit and production if this was a significant concern.

In the second case 'B J Pharmaceuticals Plc' what is presented is a scenario in which the dilemma is that between the short over the long-term and the possibility that a quick gain now could cause suffering for cancer patients in the medium to long-term. It will be recalled from the discussion in the previous chapter that Anglo-American capitalism focuses on the short-term, while the additional rider that there are unspecified allegations as to the practices of the American company allows students the possibility of discounting the allegations, if they are of a mind to do so. However, it is designed to illuminate students' thinking about the kind of capitalist practices that they believe exists and/or ought to exist.

Table 3.2: – The business scenarios provided to the focus groups

The Case Of ‘Mary’

You have worked on the production line at the local sweet factory with Mary for the past two years, during this time you have become good friends.

Mary has never really enjoyed her job; she often arrives into work late, leaves early and makes lots of mistakes when ‘dipping’ the sweets. She has already received several verbal and written warnings from your Supervisor and is likely to be dismissed if another ‘incident’ occurs.

Last month the factory introduced a new Group Incentive Scheme; the more sweets made the more money the production line workers get paid. Your colleagues are pleased with this scheme and have been working extra hard in order to earn more money, as they are not paid very high wages.

Yesterday Mary phoned to say she was unwell, this resulted in a decrease in production. During your lunch hour you saw Mary in the Supermarket, she explained that she had not gone into work as she had had an argument with her boyfriend and she was frightened that he will walk out on her.

B J Pharmaceuticals Plc

In the last two months you have invested £1,000 in B J Pharmaceuticals, a small pharmaceutical company, set up by some good friends of yours, carrying out research into cancer drugs. The company has some very clever chemists in their employment who have recently created a new ‘wonder drug’, which will help cancer sufferers.

B J Pharmaceuticals will be in a position to launch the new product in ten years, assuming they are successful in gaining sponsorship and the necessary finance to distribute and market the product.

On opening your post this morning you find that a large American Pharmaceutical Business is offering you £3,000 for your shares in B J Pharmaceuticals (Aggressive takeover bid).

The American firm has a reputation for over-charging the NHS for their drugs and recent allegations have implied that they restrict supply of their products in certain markets in order to increase price.

Below are the timetable and the participants involved in the focus groups.

Table 3.3: - Focus group research conducted at Smith's College and Jones's College.

	Focus Group A Smith's College Class One	Focus Group B Smith's College Class Two	Focus Group C Jones's College Class Four	Focus Group D Smith's College Class Three	Focus Group E Smith's College Class Three
Phase One Date. Participants	12/11/99 James Peter Tom Jane Sam	24/11/99 Simon Jon Paul Martha Andrew	29/11/99 Alex Mark Chris Bill	14/02/00 Tina Terry Robert Andy	17/02/00 Jamie Tessa Anne Debs
Subject	Questions/ interview	Questions/ interview	Questions/ interview	Questions/ interview	Questions/ interview
Phase Two Date. Participants	30/06/00 James Peter Tom Sam	04/07/00 Andrew Simon Paul	23/06/00 Alex Mark Chris Bill	06/07/00 Tina Terry Robert Andy	03/07/00 Tessa Jamie Anne
Subject	Questions on two scenarios	Questions on two scenarios	Questions on two scenarios	Questions on two scenarios	Questions on two scenarios
Phase Three Date. Participants	21/11/00 James Peter Tom Jane Sam	10/11/00 Simon Andrew Paul	20/11/00 Alex Mark Chris Bill	13/11/00 Tina Terry Robert Andy	13/11/00 Tessa Jamie Anne
Subject	Questions/ interview	Questions/ interview	Questions/ interview	Questions/ interview	Questions/ interview
Phase Four Date. Participants	27/03/01 James Peter Tom Jane Sam	28/03/01 Andrew Martha Simon	19/03/01 Bill Chris Alex	19/03/01 Terry Robert Andy	19/03/01 Tessa Jamie Anne
Subject	Questions on two scenarios	Questions on two scenarios	Questions on two scenarios	Questions on two scenarios	Questions on two scenarios
Phase Five. Date. Participants	27/04/01 James Peter Tom Jane Sam	26/04/01 Andrew Simon Jon Paul	09/05/01 Chris Claire Sally Joanne	09/05/01 Tina Andy Terry	09/05/01 Tessa Anne
Subject	Questions Interview	Questions Interview	Questions Interview	Questions Interview	Questions Interview

The main problem encountered with the focus groups related to participation. It was intended that the focus groups should comprise all five members who would remain the same through out the course of the research. This was because it was anticipated that gender dimensions could then be analysed, and changes in the responses that they provided to questions or their understanding of values could be monitored over time. However, despite this intention, it can be seen from Table 3.3: that in general the focus groups comprised the same members throughout the study but on some occasions one or two members of the group would be absent.

The most difficult focus group to conduct was the fifth phase one at Jones's College. This was because when the researcher visited the college only one member of the focus group was present. It was decided to go ahead with the interview and to use three new members. The data and information obtained during this focus group was highly significant as it was interesting to note that the 'original' member of the group was the main participant, the new members found it very difficult to answer and to understand the questions being asked. Therefore, it could be argued that the 'original' members of the focus group may have become 'sensitive' to the topic and the questions being asked due to the longitudinal nature of the research.

Having transcribed all of the focus group interviews, the information obtained from individual sessions was reviewed on its own 'merits' with reference to the overall research objectives. More specifically, data relating to any form of gender dimension was particularly taken note of; for example, if the female members of the group expressed different or similar values to the male members of the group. Also, the types of values held by the different individuals in the groups were compared with the systemic values associated with Anglo-American capitalism.

Once the data obtained from each of the groups had been analysed on its 'own merits' and longitudinally, it was then compared and contrasted with the data and information gained from the other focus groups participating in the study, for example to find out if the values possessed by all of the groups were similar or differed. The final comparison to be made was with the data obtained from the other elements of the study, for example the classroom observations, questionnaires, scenarios and one-to-one interviews.

The transcripts of the scenarios which are illustrated within Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight of this thesis, (conducted with the students and the focus groups) were 'chosen' to be included as they were considered, by the researcher, to exemplify the views possessed by the majority of the students or focus groups participating in this research and as such contain evidence upon which the conclusions contained within Chapter Nine of this thesis have been formulated. Not all the transcripts reflect those chosen to be presented but these are in a minority. In this respect the conclusions drawn from the parts of the transcripts presented need to be qualified.

2.5. Observations

The final method applied to the teachers and the students took the form of classroom observations. Initially, five teachers participated in the investigation. Unfortunately, one of the teachers 'dropped-out' due to a career move, which left three teachers participating from Smith's College and one from Jones's College. The teachers were all observed on five occasions over the two-year period. Each observation lasted for one hour. The teacher that 'dropped out' was observed on only one occasion.

Because classrooms can host a range of activities at anyone time it was decided to focus on three students within the class, chosen at random. The researcher observed lessons attended by the students on five occasions. Observations focussed on three students who would be observed in depth. The purpose in undertaking the observations was to see to what extent the espoused values of teachers were communicated in practice and whether the students had the opportunities to assimilate or take issue with these values. By focusing on the teacher and three students notes could be taken as to when the teacher communicated values and as to the students' responses.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) note that frequent criticisms levelled at observational research relates to its validity, this is due to the researcher/observer relying solely upon their own perception, and its reliability as the research is not based upon statistical analysis. One suggestion that they propose in order to enhance the validity of the research is to use multiple observers or teams of observers. For the purposes of this study, as there was only one researcher with limited human resources, it was not

possible to use multiple observers. It was anticipated that through the process of triangulation the warrant for evidential claims gathered during the lesson observations would be strengthened. In an attempt to make the research data as reliable as possible a ‘crib’ sheet was used, similar to that used by Blease and Cohen (1990). This enabled the specific amount of time that the students spent on and off task to be recorded thus bringing an element of quantitative research into the study or statistical analysis, which Denzin and Lincoln (1998,p.88) often feel is lacking in observational research thus diminishing its reliability. The research conducted by Blease and Cohen (1990) comprised a longitudinal study in primary schools, the study was entitled ‘coping with computers’ and investigated the demands placed upon both teachers and pupils in terms of time, when using computer software. It reviewed the behaviour and interaction of the pupils in the classroom. Appendix Four, gives the observation ‘check sheet’ used for recording the classroom observations at Smith’s College and at Jones’s College, please note that the spaces provided for responses have been reduced.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) address the issues of validity and reliability by suggesting that other research methods should be used in conjunction with lesson observations, in order to achieve ‘corroboration’ and ‘triangulation’. As this study also comprises the use of questionnaires, focus groups and one-to-one interviews it was thought that the findings obtained from the observations could be compared and contrasted with that gathered during the other elements of the study in order to verify their validity and reliability. As Denzin and Lincoln (2000) note:

‘Direct observation, when added onto other research yielding depth and/or breadth, enhances consistency and validity’ (p. 90).

Table 3.4: over records the dates and names of teachers observed.

Table 3.4: - Dates of lesson observations conducted at Smith's College and Jones's College.

	Hugo	Amanda	Georgiana	Melena	Nick
Observations	29/03/00	28/06/00	31/03/00	21/06/00	19/06/00
	13/06/00	08/11/00	30/06/00	08/01/01	
	22/11/00	22/11/00	09/06/00	08/01/01	
	30/03/01	29/03/01	15/11/00	22/01/01	
	28/03/01	09/05/01	29/01/01	19/03/01	

The main problem encountered when conducting the classroom observations was due to the researcher adopting a non-participation role. On several occasions during the observations students would ask the researcher questions related to their work as they knew the researcher was a lecturer and also if their lecturer left the room and the students were misbehaving the researcher found it very difficult not to intervene. It could therefore be argued that there was an element of 'observer effect' as the students present in the classroom had noted the presence of the observer. But when the teacher was speaking or asking them to engage in tasks it seemed the presence of the researcher was forgotten. It is, therefore unlikely that the focus on the communication of values was jeopardised.

When all of the lesson observations had been completed and written up, they were reviewed in the light of the typology of values that could be communicated during Business Studies lessons (see Chapter One of this thesis for details of the typology) in order to discern the nature of the values that were being communicated by the teachers taking part in this study. Subsequently comparisons were made to ascertain: if individual teachers were consistent in their value communication i.e. did they communicate values of a similar nature during each of their lesson observations or did they vary and to distinguish between the nature of the values being communicated by the teachers taking part in the research.

Having analysed and reviewed the classroom observations in isolation (see the process described above), bearing in mind the objectives of the findings were compared and

contrasted with the other elements of the research, in order to enhance the triangulation process. The justification and processes associated with triangulation are now discussed.

2.6. Triangulation

It was intended that the data obtained from the lesson observations, the one-to-one interviews, the completed questionnaires and from the focus groups and scenarios, should be compared and contrasted. Therefore as well as the research being longitudinal in nature it also incorporates the concept of ‘triangulation’ as multiple data collection methods are used.

Denzin (1994) identifies four different types of triangulation; multiple methods, theoretical, data and investigator. He describes the different forms of triangulation as follows. Methodological triangulation can occur between method or within method, between method refers to the use of several methods e.g. fieldwork and surveys where as within method refers to the use of the same method in different ways, for example, different types of scale.

Theoretical triangulation utilises varying ‘perspectives’ when analysing one element of data. Data triangulation refers to the gathering of observations using more than one sampling strategy, for example, observations in differing social situations and at different points in time can be obtained. Therefore, data triangulation permits a theory to be ‘tested’ in a variety of ways and to explore, theoretically, anomalies or inconsistencies in the data (Patton, 2002).

Finally, investigator triangulation takes place when several observers are used to conduct field research. This allows for observer bias and increases the reliability of the data obtained. A fifth form of triangulation was referred to by Denzin and Lincoln (1994) that of interdisciplinary triangulation.

This research can be classified as a form of multiple method triangulation. It was decided to embark upon this form of triangulation in order to increase the validity and

reliability of the data obtained from the study as suggested above. This reasoning was apparent to Sieber (1973) when he refers to the following quotation:

‘No research method is without bias. Interviews and questionnaires must be supplemented by methods testing the same social science variables but having different methodological weaknesses’ (Webb et al: 1966, p.1).

As a result of the research methods and techniques adopted during the course of this study, i.e. it is a longitudinal study which permits individuals (students) to reason critically and reflectively on the dilemmas they might confront, it could be argued that this research is methodologically innovative in comparison to that utilised by Apple (1990), Kelly (1999) and Bowles and Gintis (1976). For example, the studies conducted by these academics tended not to be longitudinal in nature therefore it is difficult to claim cause and effect from teaching to students’ views, they did not ask students to reflect on the dilemmas posed by business/capitalism and there tends to be a tacit assumption that students may be relatively passive in the transmission of values (this study assumes that students may change their views through reflection in terms of the focus groups and the scenarios).

2.7. Analysing the data and emergent themes

The data from these multiple methods was analysed utilising the theories and typologies developed in Chapter One. In particular, the typology concerning the values intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism provided a standard of judgement by which responses could be gauged in relation to policy makers, teachers and students. The typology of the various forms of communication in the classroom developed in Chapter One, also provided a means of analysing teacher speech and student observations in the classroom in relation to what was said and what was not. The scenarios, were initially intended to relate to the competing theories of Kohlberg, (1958, 1981) and Gilligan, (1982,1989) but were also found to illuminate students’ views as regards aspects of Anglo-American capitalism.

However, as the views of students were compared with the teacher interviews and classroom observations it became clear that the theories that the researcher had started out with would not cover all the possibilities as to the sources of students' values. This was true of the role of part-time work in influencing their thinking about business and values. Below are detailed the themes that emerged from the comparison between theory and data and they inform the analysis that is undertaken in the chapters reporting the findings of research in relation to students.

2.7.1. Themes arising from the Student Research

Four prominent themes emerged from the data. However, it must be noted that these themes are provisional and that, as the reader will see, some qualification is required. These were as follows: (i) 'profit' prevailed as the 'most' important business objective when the students were asked directly what they considered to be the main objectives of businesses (ii) the majority of the students possessed ambiguous attitudes towards business, this is inferred from the absence of any positive business or industry comments/views expressed by the students during the course of the research and the presence of negative statements relating to some of the activities of businesses; (iii) students part-time jobs is where the students seemed to learn most about business values. In particular, this aspect of the research raised questions about the degree to which the students would conform to the values held by their future employer (iv) there appeared to be some gender differences in the approach taken to business values.

The themes will be clarified, built upon and interrogated using the data obtained from the questionnaires and during the student focus group interviews and scenarios in Chapters Five to Eight. (Chapter Five, Class One at Smith's College; Class Two at Smith's College; Chapter Seven Class Three at Smith's College and Chapter Eight, Class Four at Jones's College).

It should be emphasised that the questionnaire data were used as a guide to further questions in the qualitative aspect of this study and not as definitive or reliable. For example, the issue of gender differences in relation to business values did not present themselves in the questionnaires but did so within the focus group interviews and

scenario analyses. This was most likely because the students were given freedom of expression and the opportunity to interact with other group members during the focus group and scenario phases of the research. Accordingly, it was possible to obtain a greater insight into their views, motivation and thought processes, arguably, in comparison to the quantitative research, which rendered gender dimensions less discernable. In addition to the findings outlined above, reference will be made to the classroom observation notes where they may prove helpful in illuminating some of the issues to have emerged from the interview and scenario analyses.

There were two ways in which the data patterns and analysis could have been presented. Firstly, it could have been undertaken by presenting the data chronologically. However, the danger of doing it this way is that we may have lost ‘the wood for the trees’. The second way was to undertake an initial data analysis, draw out the themes and present the data in this way. It is possible that a loss of data could have occurred by doing it in this way. However, in being sensitive to this point, where there have been changes in students’ views they have also been identified and analysed in relation to the four themes.

3. Ethics

At the time of the research the only subject group to be specifically guaranteed their anonymity were the students; the issue was not raised with the teachers or the policy makers (all of the subject groups were aware of the purpose of the research). As a result the teachers and students have been provided with fictitious names, as have the names of the institutions that they work within and instead of referring to the names of the policy makers their position within the public or private sector is referred to.

It is also significant to note that any information conveyed to the researcher, that was described at the time as being ‘off the record’, for example during the policy maker research, has been omitted from this thesis. The final point to note, is that when reading the subsequent chapters of this thesis, it will become apparent that the identity of all of the subject groups participating in this study have been concealed; this has been done for ethical reasons.

CHAPTER THREE

POLICY MAKER RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

During the course of this research seven policy makers were interviewed, on a one-to-one basis (see Research Methodology for more detail, Chapter Two of this thesis) in order to obtain their views on the role played by 'A' level and GNVQ Business Studies within the curriculum, on the transmission of values in Business Studies 'A' level and GNVQ Advanced lessons and the nature of the values that they believe ought to be and are being taught during Business Studies lessons. They comprised an opportunity sample but in various ways had been influential in the development of the Business Studies curriculum.

The jobs undertaken by the policy makers are as follows: Policy Maker One is a retired senior civil servant and life Peer; Policy Maker Two is a senior civil servant with the DfEE; Policy Maker Three is a teacher, author and Chief Examiner in Business Studies; Policy Maker Four is a senior lecturer and consultant for Nuffield; Policy Maker Five works for the EBEA and is a writer/consultant for Nuffield; Policy Maker Six holds a senior position at UCAS and Policy Maker Seven is a senior member of staff at QCA.

In total seven questions were asked to each of the seven policy makers (see Appendix Three). The interview questions had been designed with the following objectives in mind: to ascertain whether or not the opinions of the policy makers relating to the nature of the values that should be transmitted in Business Studies lessons were similar or dissimilar to those of the other groups participating in this study; to find out how they perceived Business Studies in relation to other subjects being taught within the curriculum; to deduce which values they thought ought to be taught during Business

Studies lessons and within the whole curriculum and finally to ascertain if the policy makers considered the values that they thought were being taught in Business Studies lessons to be the same as those held by businesses i.e. did they reflect Anglo-American capitalism?

1. Key findings arising from the Policy Maker Research

1.1. Business Studies within the curriculum pre and post sixteen.

This question was asked to gain a general appreciation of how the policy makers saw Business Studies fitting into the curriculum (see Appendix Three, question 1). They held mixed opinions relating to the issue of whether or not Business Studies should be taught as an academic subject below the age of sixteen. Some of the policy makers interviewed, for example Policy Maker Two (a senior civil servant with the DfEE), felt that elements of the GCSE syllabus should be incorporated within the curriculum during PSE lessons and through Citizenship, rather than the academic study of Business Studies as a 'core subject' within the National Curriculum.

Within post sixteen education Business Studies was considered to be an integrated subject offering skills in both numeracy and literacy. The subject was also viewed as being practical in the classroom and academic in the examination situation.

The following views, were expressed by the policy makers during their one-to-one interviews; they illustrate that the policy makers believe Business Studies has a 'greater' or more 'valuable' role within the curriculum at a post sixteen level in comparison to at a pre-sixteen level:

Policy Maker One (retired senior civil servant and life Peer) addressed the issue relating to how Business Studies fits into the overall curriculum by considering the curriculum up to the age of sixteen and then over sixteen. She said that up to the age of sixteen she does not believe Business Studies has much of a role within the curriculum. She said that she was not, '*a great fan*' of Business Studies being taught to those under

sixteen, unless it is being taught in the context of the academic study of how *'society works'*.

She believed that students ought to understand that business and *'the creation of wealth is a legitimate purpose as opposed to making money'*. She said that *'young people'* need to understand that the:

'Creation of wealth is important, the more wealth creation the more money to spend on social services etc'.

Additionally, an understanding of society and the role of businesses within it and how businesses work is important but not the academic study of Business Studies below the age of sixteen. She summarised her view by saying that below the age of sixteen Business Studies should be in terms of *'the generality of how a business works'* and students should ideally get a *'general education'*, for example, work experience.

When Policy Maker Two (a senior civil servant with the DfEE) was interviewed, she also considered Business Studies in terms of students below and above the age of sixteen. She said that the *'policy line'* on Business Studies and Economics today is that it threads throughout the National Curriculum below the age of sixteen. It is not a core subject, but threaded through and incorporated into core areas of the curriculum, for example, Citizenship. She said that there is *'policy interest'* in the subject as the Government Minister used to teach Business Studies. She said that the *'economics'* aspect of Business Studies is also incorporated within PSE lessons, from a *'personal economic'* point of view.

Policy Maker Three (teacher, author and Chief Examiner in Business Studies) responded to the issue of how Business Studies fits into the curriculum by considering its role in post-sixteen education. She felt that Business Studies is integrated in the skills that it offers in terms of numeracy and literacy; it is a *'real and practical subject'* in the classroom and therefore appeals to a lot of students.

She felt that it is a mix of many different disciplines and gives students a reasonable insight into them. The focus on analysis and evaluation, with a particular emphasis on

evaluation, has had an '*academic richness*' of its own which should create classroom debates on topics such as corporate takeovers or moral questions.

She summarised her view by commenting that in the past it was considered to be a '*liberal*' subject and any '*kid*' now benefits from its depth within each discipline for example from accounting to ethics.

Policy Makers Four and Five also addressed the issue in terms of pre and post sixteen. They commented that at a pre-sixteen level the subject is peripheral as it draws on different subjects. In Policy Maker Four's (senior lecturer and consultant for Nuffield) experience, students at those schools that have incorporated Business Studies into their curriculum enjoy the subject and it is popular.

Policy Maker Five (prominent position within EBEA and writer/consultant for Nuffield) commented that as a principle it is good, in practice it is mixed – there are schools who will not put it into their curriculum as it will take pupils from other subjects. Other schools place it into an option block that is not popular in order to reduce the numbers taking it. She said that schools take a very '*pragmatic decision*' as to whether they should introduce it or not. It is also considered to be a subject that people study if they cannot do anything else.

Policy Maker Five thought that at a post sixteen level, if the number of students taking the subject is a measure of the success of the subject, then '*on numbers it was very successful during the 1980's*'. What has tended to happen though is that the GNVQ Advanced took students from 'A' level Business Studies and currently the numbers are falling.

Policy Maker Six (employed in a senior position at UCAS) felt that Business Studies 'A' level and GNVQ Advanced fit into the curriculum well, and that it's a highly regarded subject. She said that she suspected that 'A' level Business Studies would become vocational; it could be classified as a '*leader for change*'. Pressure for change is coming from the Government and from the Universities. The Government she said wished to '*widen participation*' and the points' allocation for admission to University for both GNVQ and 'A' levels had changed. She said that she thought vocational

qualifications are currently insufficiently regarded and it is her '*personal crusade*' to alter this as she feels that vocational qualifications are valuable.

Policy Maker Seven (a senior member of staff at QCA) responded to this question by saying that she did not consider it to be a 'core' subject as it is not part of the National Curriculum. It is not given as much money (funding) as those subjects contained within the National Curriculum. She said that at a post-sixteen level, although Business Studies 'A' level was important in terms of the popularity of the subject, the market place (students taking Business Studies) sees the subject in a different way to the provider (Government).

1.2. The importance of 'A' level Business Studies within the curriculum

The second question posed to the policy makers was: '*Do you believe that 'A' level Business Studies is more important than the more traditional 'A' levels given the movement towards a global economy?*' This question was asked in order to discover whether or not the policy makers thought that studying Business Studies, rather than one of the more 'traditional' 'A' level subjects, would be beneficial to the student/economy in the light of economic globalisation.

The findings generated in response to this question are surprising as they differ significantly from those obtained during the course of the student research. The student research revealed that the respondents participating in this study perceived that the studying of Business Studies would be instrumental in their search for future employment (see Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight of this thesis for more information) that resulted in them deciding to study the subject. Whereas the views expressed by the policy makers implied the majority of them did not consider 'A' level Business Studies to be any more or less important than the more 'traditional' subjects. This finding suggests that the policy makers consider all subjects (on offer in secondary education) to carry equal weight in the 'eyes' of employers.

The main reason provided by the majority of the policy makers, when explaining their opinion that 'A' level Business Studies was not any more or less important than the

more ‘traditional’ subjects, tended to focus upon the need for a general education in order to provide the necessary skills and knowledge for a varied career and a variety of vocations. Since Policy Maker Six’s view is significantly different to the others on this question it will be discussed separately below.

For example, Policy Maker One said that she did not believe Business Studies was more important than the more, ‘traditional’ ‘A’ level subjects; she felt that it:

‘Is an equally valuable educational experience’.

She drew on J. S. Mill:

‘Who said something like: make students good and sensible men and women rather than Lawyers, Physicians, Businessmen and they will become good sensible Lawyers, Physician, and Businessmen.’

Policy Maker One argued that individuals ought to be provided with a general education rather than being trained in business skills. She stated that:

‘Business Studies introduces people to a major aspect of life and it is a legitimate subject for academic study as it excites and illuminates peoples minds, more than Economics – the basis of national competitiveness is skilled labour – people need to be given a broad grounding for developing a specific skill – breadth is good within education – to give a wide base to develop careers during one’s life – due to career redundancy.’

Policy Maker One believes that the GNVQ or Applied ‘A’ level creates a range of learning objectives:

‘Young people have different motivations and talents - some take to book learning and abstract thinking, those not gifted this way i.e. learn by finding out. GNVQ or applied ‘A’ level is better as it develops communication/ interpersonal skills and presentation skills.’

Policy Maker One believes that the GNVQ needs to be introduced at fourteen, in order to get students, *'excited in learning rather than what they are learning'*, she said that she thought that the *'motivational aspect to learning was important.'* She commented that she was a *'fan'* of GNVQ in Business Studies, the sixteen to nineteen approaches and she *'fought'* to get it introduced. She believes that Business Studies is better taught through GNVQ than through 'A' level as the 'A' level does not bring out the *'entrepreneurial streak'* in people.

Policy Maker Two felt that Business Studies is an important subject due to the fact that, *'business links with schools are strong and getting stronger'*, she mentioned the Young Enterprise Scheme and that elements of Business Studies are incorporated within the National Curriculum; therefore it can be argued that you do not need to have it as a separate subject. In this sense she departed from the more general view that it was one important subject amongst many.

Policy Maker Three stated, in response to the question detailed above, that 'A' level Business Studies is:

'No more important than the more traditional 'A' level; it is no different in its academic focus than traditional subjects, it can give a sense of purpose about what people do next – this is only incidental.'

Policy Makers Four and Five stated they did not feel that Business Studies was more important than the more traditional 'A' levels – they did not elaborate on this response.

Policy Maker Seven felt that the role played by Business Studies at the moment was difficult to comment upon. She felt that for the previous Conservative-led Government it was not more important than the traditional subjects but for the new Labour-led Government (i.e. in power since 1997) it is not known as yet. She said that she personally did not think that it is more important than other subjects but perhaps there is a shift/movement towards making vocational qualifications more important.

Policy Maker Seven noted that:

'The more academic schools are not teaching Business Studies – I think it is a good qualification but until you have people accepting it, it is not good.'

The comment made above by Policy Maker Seven is significant as it implies that 'academic' schools within this country are anti-Business Studies, as they do not wish to teach the qualification. This raises the question: Is this because such schools do not 'value' the subject academically or does it provide evidence of some 'deep rooted' anti – business and industry sentiments? (Wiener, 1981 and Barnett, 1986).

Policy Maker Six differed (from the other policy makers taking part in this study) in her opinion as to the importance of 'A' level Business Studies; this is because she thought that Business Studies was more important than the traditional subjects. She said that:

'When students are in the Sixth Form, they want to study what they will enjoy at University, apart from Medicine/Veterinary Science - people doing other subjects ought to do something scientific or applied - Business Studies helps students apply knowledge and acquire it.'

Despite believing that Business Studies is more important than the 'more traditional' subjects, Policy Maker Six stated that she does not put pressure on Universities to offer more places in Business Studies. She said that the only pressure that she has placed on Universities is to think up a new tariff and to be transparent in their entry qualifications, for example, what 'key skills' (or their equivalent) as well as entry tariffs they require.

Policy Maker Six was also asked whether or not she felt that the Universities in this Country consider 'A' level Business Studies and GNVQ Advanced Business Studies to be as important/more important than the more traditional 'A' level subjects. She responded to this question by saying that it was impossible to answer, she said that you cannot just talk of Universities or the HE Sector. She said that the 'new' Universities are more tuned into Business Studies than the older ones. Each University has its own views; they cannot be placed into one category.

1.3. Values the policy makers feel ought to be transmitted through the 'A' level Business Studies Syllabus

The third question posed to the policy makers was: *'What values do you believe should be transmitted through the 'A' level Business Studies Syllabus?'* This question was put to the policy makers in order to see if there was a correlation between what the policy makers thought teachers of Business Studies were transmitting during their lessons and what actually was being transmitted and to see if the nature of the values that the policy makers felt 'ought' to be transmitted reflected Anglo-American capitalism; thereby substantiating the claim made by Bowles and Gintis (1976) that a relationship exists between the values transmitted in education and Anglo-American capitalism. It should be noted that two of the policy makers did not respond to this question (Policy Maker Two and Policy Maker Five).

Initially, the findings revealed that the policy makers were not consistent in their views as to which values should and should not be transmitted through the Business Studies Syllabus i.e. the values that Policy Maker One felt ought to be transmitted through the curriculum differed from those suggested by Policy Maker Three. For example, Policy Maker One felt that values related to *'the creation of wealth'* should be transmitted whereas Policy Maker Three believes that values related to *'caring'* should be transmitted. The policy makers also defined the term 'value' differently from one another. For example, Policy Maker Six classified *'profit'* as a business value and Policy Maker Three classified *'a budget'* as a business value.

Despite this initial finding, it was evident upon closer examination of the findings, that the responses provided by the majority of the policy makers were very similar. This is because apart from Policy Maker One, who advocated the transmission of Anglo-American capitalist values during Business Studies lessons, the other policy makers desired a more, 'caring', 'sensitive', and 'ethical' approach to the teaching of the subject, emphasising the point that some businesses are not out to make profit but to help the community.

The following paragraphs elaborate further upon the views expressed by the policy makers during their one-to-one interviews in relation to which values ‘should’ be transmitted through the ‘A’ level syllabus¹⁰:

Policy Maker One thought that the following values should be transmitted through the ‘A’ level Business Studies syllabus:

‘To get the agreement of the students that the creation of wealth is a valid purpose and not below the salt - an element of toughness and courage are to be valued, courage to adopt, a go get it approach.’

She explained that ‘trust’ and the building of long-term business relationships should also be transmitted, as these are good business assets and it includes ‘paying taxes’. Policy Maker One stated that, ‘trust’ is important in business in order to create long-term relationships rather than just winning the current deal.

She also mentioned that:

‘A successful business person needs to be sensitive to the values of society, for example the environment and other human beings, this is because in valuing them you are getting the best out of them rather than exploiting them’.

Policy Maker One said that she ‘believed’ in getting people to work hard ‘as people are happy if they are working hard’ and that businesses need to invest in training and supporting people when they are in ill health.

Policy Maker Three thought that values that could get the students to:

‘Care about the consequences – to see the link between power, responsibility and consequences. For example, for students to understand budgets and the ethical implications of budgets and delegation and for students to appreciate

¹⁰Policy Maker Two said that she could not comment upon, the values that ‘should’ be transmitted through the ‘A’ level syllabus – she did not provide an explanation for this response. Policy Maker Five also did not respond to this question.

that once somebody is in a position of authority over an area of the business - if the values of the organisation are not conveyed by the people at the top, they are neglecting their own responsibilities e.g. P&O Ferries (Zeebrugge). It is the diffusion of responsibility in which the problems lie.'

should be transmitted through the Business Studies syllabus.

She also stated that students need to be:

'Critical and sceptical of data asking themselves questions, such as where does the information come from? In whose interests does it lie?'

It can also be argued that Policy Maker Three desired 'business ethics' to be transmitted during Business Studies lessons; this is because she was responsible for its inclusion on the Business Studies Syllabus. When explaining why she introduced business ethics into the syllabus, she said that it was partly due to tradition and partly to do with the ethos of the course. She feels that it is a very important counter balance to an inevitable general teaching focus on profit. Policy Maker Three felt that many centres are not '*coming through*' on the '*richness*' of Business Studies issues and that ethics is the ultimate test of a student's ability to present a well-judged argument. She said that ethics should be integrated within the teaching of the whole course and not just when teaching issues directly related to the ethics part of the syllabus. She said that the syllabus has been reduced so that not as much time is spent teaching '*boring*' content but instead issues are explored more deeply and debates can be held during lessons.

Policy Maker Four believes that students needed to be made aware of the fact that businesses make a:

'Positive contribution to the community and this is not necessarily through profit.'

She thought that students needed to obtain:

‘A critical understanding of ethics, that youngsters have to find their own view on ethics’.

Policy Maker Four expressed the view that at the moment the course does not teach students enough about how to *‘react’* within the business environment. She did not think that it *‘engaged them in terms of values’*.

Policy Maker Six thought that the values contained within the syllabus for Citizenship could be incorporated into Business Studies lessons as well as throughout the curriculum. For example:

‘Values relating to the fact that businesses may not just be interested in profit but also that they should be contributing to the community’.

Policy Maker Seven commented as follows when responding to the question, *‘What ‘values’ do you believe should be transmitted through the ‘A’ level and GNVQ (AVCE) Advanced Business Studies Syllabus?’*

‘We are trying to make them vocational with ‘A’ levels. It is harder as there is still more vocational content required, for example relating to Information Technology’.

She said that it is developing another side to people and making them more *‘streetwise.’*

As mentioned earlier, it was evident from the responses provided by the policy makers to this question that they defined the term ‘value’ differently. For example, some of the policy makers i.e. Policy Maker One related the concept to ‘the creation of wealth’ and ‘trust’; Policy Maker Three referred to, ‘caring’ and Policy Maker Six, ‘profit’ and ‘contributing to the community’. This suggests that there is some disagreement over what is considered ‘values’ and whether they should be taught.

Overall, it is significant to note that despite two of the policy makers not responding to this question, there was a general assumption on the part of the policy makers being

questioned that values should be transmitted during Business Studies lessons i.e. values which are structural or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism or reflect moral or environmental values. None of the policy makers taking part in this study suggested that values in general or specific values should not be transmitted during Business Studies lessons.

1.4. The policy maker's perception of the nature of the values being transmitted during Business Studies lessons.

The fourth question put to the policy makers during their one-to-one interviews was: *'What business values do you believe are being transmitted during an 'A' level Business Studies lesson?'* This question was asked in order to ascertain the nature of the business values that they felt were being transmitted during lessons. This information could then be compared and contrasted to the responses that were generated from the previous question posed: *'Which business values ought to be transmitted?'* as well as the findings obtained during the student and teacher research.

The responses provided by the policy makers reflected 'traditional' expectations surrounding the content and concepts contained within the Business Studies syllabus and an assumption that the values prevalent within Anglo-American capitalism were being transmitted, for example, profit¹¹. Their responses raised questions relating to the depth of analysis, awareness and evaluation that was embodied within the syllabus and is being transmitted within the classroom.

Policy Maker Three for example, felt that the values being transmitted during a Business Studies lesson would relate to the understanding of:

'A multiplicity of objectives, what they are and why, why have different values?'

¹¹ Policy Makers One, Two and Five did not respond to this question.

It could be argued that this comment reveals a lack of any substantial analysis relating to values. This is because it is only examining the question of business objectives at a 'text book' level i.e. a list of reasons why businesses have differing objectives.

Policy Maker Four stated that she thought that the following 'values' were being transmitted during Business Studies lessons:

'That public is good and private is bad – this is a prior view of the kids and needs changing.'

It was interesting to note that in the fourth classroom observation – a lesson being taught by Hugo (see Chapter Five) - this topic of private/public sector businesses, was discussed and considered in greater depth than the statement above implies. For example, Hugo indicated that a disadvantage of the public sector was a lack of funding, which was why the windows in the students' classroom did not work.

Policy Maker Four expressed her opinion that the students are forming the impression that if a business is carrying out a specific activity it is naturally 'good' and that:

'Businesses only have environmental concerns if they can afford them or if the law tells them they have to do something'.

It could be inferred that the opinions, expressed by Policy Maker Four, indicate that she believes that a rather hard-nosed approach to capitalist values is being transmitted in the classroom. This is because she feels that 'the environment' is classified as a subordinate business objective (see the statement above) and also that values were taught from a 'managerial perspective.' It cannot be directly inferred that these views represent Anglo-American values, except perhaps from the more radical of thinkers in this tradition. For example, she stated that:

'Labour, people and their role within a business needs to be considered; most courses run from a managerial point of view – so empowerment as an employee is considered to be limited.'

This is a revealing comment in that it suggests that she sees Business Studies as focusing on management rather than from the perspective of workers.

Policy Maker Six responded to this question by saying that:

'I would have thought business ethics would be being taught.'

Policy Maker Seven adopted the stance that the values being transmitted in Business Studies lessons would be the same as those being taught elsewhere in the curriculum. It could therefore be inferred from this comment that she does not consider businesses or the values held by businesses to be any different from those held by society in general, which are 'naturally' transmitted in other areas of the curriculum. This statement assumes that values are being transmitted. Policy Maker Seven's answer to this question was contained within an e-mail – her response was as follows (as mentioned in the research methodology, Policy Maker Seven responded to this question by e-mail as she wanted to consider her response in the light of the discussion/responses provided during the one-to-one interview):

'I think that when we talk about values reflected by the curriculum as a whole, we are then thinking of everyone participating in this curriculum sharing in a sense these very values. Different types of qualifications represent the outcomes of different pathways leading through the whole and these special pathways should "top up" in a sense the basic package everyone should be getting. This would mean extra specialised knowledge and skills but maybe not different values. Why should not for example a doctor, a businessman and a postman share and be influenced by the same basic educational values? Surely it is their knowledge and experience, which is different, acquired by the different educational/qualification pathways they followed. Of course you are back again to my initial question, I am interpreting the term 'value' possibly differently from you. These are my private thoughts and not some sort of QCA or DFES policy line as far as I know. I am not sure if we have any 'official' line of thought on this.'

Overall, it is apparent that the policy makers believe that business values are being transmitted during Business Studies lessons. It is also apparent that the nature of the business values that the policy makers believe are being transmitted varies. For example, Policy Maker Four believes that values are being taught from a 'managerial' perspective whereas Policy Maker Six believes that ethical business values are being transmitted.

It could also be argued that some policy makers possess a rather, 'naive' view of the depth of analysis that occurs within the classroom (see comment by Policy Maker Four when responding to this question) and assume that the attitudes of the students are not influenced by factors other than their Business Studies teacher. For example, students may not necessarily hold the view that public sector organisations are good and private bad if they have obtained a favourable experience of a private sector business through their part-time jobs. However, more research would be required to establish this point since it may be that the way the question was posed, emphasising the 'transmission' of values rather than using the more neutral 'taught' or 'teaching' of values influenced their responses. Reference to the transmission of values presupposes that it is possible to do so.

The evidence obtained from the policy maker research suggests that the majority of the policy makers perceive there to be a difference between the values that they believe ought to be transmitted during Business Studies lessons and those that they feel are being transmitted. The research findings suggest that the policy makers would like values related to 'caring' and 'ethics' and the 'community/society' to be transmitted whereas they believe the reality of the situation is that the nature of the values being transmitted during lessons reflect 'Anglo-American' capitalist values, 'ethics' and 'educational standards'.

1.5. Values that *should* be transmitted through the curriculum in general

The fifth question that the policy makers were asked was: '*What values do you believe should be transmitted through the curriculum in general?*' This question was posed in order to find out which values they felt ought to be transmitted through the curriculum. This information could then be compared with their responses to the previous question

asked relating to which values they felt ought to be transmitted during Business Studies lessons.

It was interesting to note that when the evidence generated from the interviews with the policy makers was reviewed it was visible that the majority of the values mentioned by the policy makers related to society or the creation of individuals who will 'fit in' and enhance the norms present within society for the benefit of all.

For example, Policy Maker One thought that:

'Society is in difficulty if you do not have a shared set of values; without this society is breaking down. We have a big problem in this country through the break down in values.'

She said that she believes the strongest basis for values is religion and as a result of this there is the emergence of a lot of fundamentalism due to the questioning of different religions. She felt that the issue for education is:

'Developing the kind of values that make for the effective working of society - the Law and a shared understanding of desirable behaviour.'

She expressed the view that the, *'ethical approach to business is a good asset'*.

Policy Maker One said, in the context of curriculum 2000, that:

'A good education would not only include a discussion on values but also a conclusion on values'.

She believes that values cannot be taught if they are different from the practising values of the school. She said that a problem occurs *'when teachers do not subscribe to values'* and in her opinion when this happens the:

'Head should make sure that values are taken on board and practised by staff and not just given, lip service.'

Overall, Policy Maker One believes that *'religious values are a good basis'*, due to the fact that they make sense and that religion needs help in the schools.

During the interview with Policy Maker Two, she stated that:

'The values contained within the syllabus for Citizenship ought to be transmitted through the curriculum, for example, social and moral responsibility, ethics etc.'

She described how this would be achieved through working with, Oxfam, as issues such as 'fair trade' would be addressed and so would the 'global economy'.

Policy Maker Four believes the values transmitted through the curriculum:

'Should create a traditional liberal education providing individuals with a critical empowered role - the creation of a rounded individual.'

Policy Maker Five also considered the individual student when stating that:

'You need to create an individual who is philosophical – to know that you can take a risk and that you may fail.'

Policy Maker Six was of the opinion that:

'If space can be found within the curriculum everybody should be taught Citizenship - students would learn the values of democracy, human rights and respect for others - you would not get this from studying French for example but you could obtain this knowledge from studying Business Studies - businesses are not just be in the interest of making profit they should also contribute to the community.'

She said that UCAS has contributed to the community by using unemployed people in Gloucester/Cheltenham area to build a pond. This pond would be used as a Nature Pond for school children during their Nature Studies lessons.

Policy Maker Seven responded as follows:

‘Continuous personal development – to create a rounded individual who will help society – to create socially adaptable people – to provide people with the skills necessary to get more training.’

What is interesting about these responses is that they share a similar view of education helping to create a rounded individual that is aware of ethical issues and who can fit into society. The question now is whether these policy makers thought that business values departed from this view.

1.6. Business values

Due to the contested nature of values, specifically business values, the policy makers were asked the question: *‘What do you consider to be business values?’* during their interviews. They were asked this question in order to ascertain whether or not they considered the nature of business values to be similar or different from the views of the students and teachers and to discern whether or not the nature of values mentioned by the policy makers are intrinsic or structural to Anglo-American capitalism (see Chapter One of this thesis).

While the findings to this question revealed that the policy makers adopted different approaches to defining the term ‘business values’, for example, by referring to personality characteristics, factors which influence the values possessed by businesses, moral values and non-moral values i.e. profitability, it could be argued that their responses reflected values that were intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism.

Several personality characteristics were mentioned by Policy Maker One when defining business values, including a *‘streak of toughness’* to *‘negotiate hard’* and say *‘no’*. Also, the fact that you should not be unfair or *‘screw the other side,’* as they will not trade with you for long and that you need to adopt the, *‘Harvard School of negotiation’* i.e. making the losers feel like winners. This suggests, again, a hard-nosed approach, which in view of her espousal of the Harvard School of negotiation might also seem a little cynical.

The nature of the values mentioned by Policy Maker Three, emphasised the importance placed upon the 'budget' by businesses operating within this type of economy. She felt that the budget possessed by the business would influence the values being practiced. She explained that as businesses have budgets, people do what is expected of them and '*apply little or nothing in terms of values*'. She stated that it was her opinion that:

'You cannot bring values to play at times in what you do as it is not acceptable to do this – on a daily basis employees do not apply values, as they do not want to get, sacked.'

Here Policy Maker Three seems to be coming close to seeing profit as the 'bottom line' in which everything else is subordinate to it, reflecting perhaps the values associated with Anglo-American capitalism.

However, she also felt that the size and type of business organisation influenced the business values being practiced within it; for example, she thought that in smaller limited companies there is a lot more scope for individual moral values and for them to feed through, as personal responsibility is important. This is because in a small limited company the agenda is set from the top and if an employee knows that Mr Smith will be annoyed if he hears that bribes are being taken the employee will not do so. She stated that:

'In PLC's the problem is at the top - this is because those at the top do not know what is going on - delegation, budgeting etc. – the people at the top do not know, but impose targets that can only be met in, dodgy ways.'

The opinion stated above by Policy Maker Three is interesting because she did not mention the potential 'pressure' that is exerted upon those executives from the market given Anglo-American shareholder capitalist values i.e. the necessity to perform well in order to maintain or increase the share price which will in turn please the shareholders/investors. As a result of this 'pressure' the individuals at the top of the organisation may find themselves forced into a situation where they are imposing 'unrealistic' targets in the hope of maintaining the stability of the organisation.

However, Policy Maker Three's views were more complex than at first appeared:

'The highest moral principle is giving up profit for no personal benefit - motive is very important to business values'.

And relatedly she thought that the most important business value was:

'Doing what is right because it is right.'

It could be argued that the opinions of Policy Maker Three reflect the actions of the Late Anita Roddick, in terms of the application of the profit made by the Body Shop prior to its floatation on the stock market and in doing so it illustrates that a business operating within the context of an Anglo-American capitalist economy can practice 'alternative' values i.e. those related to sustainability or helping the environment.

Policy Maker Three also stated at later point during the interview that:

'Profit is the most important value to a business.'

One way of interpreting this policy maker's views are that she understands the reality of Anglo-American capitalism, as practised in Britain but that she considers such practices to be in tension with the values that she believes people ought to espouse.

Policy Maker Six mentioned several moral and non-moral business values; for example she said that:

'Profit has to be a business value - otherwise you will go out of Business'¹².

But Policy Maker Six qualified this view by explaining that: *'Customers and the people that work for you should be classified as business values'*. Here the bottom line of profit while understood, is qualified by consideration of other stakeholders.

¹² This statement, made by Policy Maker Six, further substantiates the claim made in the first chapter of this thesis that 'profit' can be classified as a business value in addition to that of a business objective (see Chapter One, Section 2.2. for more detail).

She also thought that '*honesty*' was the most important business value; this is because if you help people and then one day they will help you. She felt that individuals needed to be:

'Honest and straightforward with people, as it will always rebound on you if you are not'.

She also mentioned that '*staying in business*' and '*competing with others*' could be classified as forms of business value.

It could be argued that honesty and the desire to stay in business and compete with other individuals could be 'classified' as values which are structural or intrinsic to all of the different varieties of capitalism that are being addressed within this study i.e. they are universally applicable values. What would differentiate the various forms of capitalism would be the emphasis place on short-term profit at the expense of other values.

1.7. Values being transmitted and those possessed by businesses.

The final question put to the policy makers was: '*Do you believe that the values transmitted through business education are similar to the values held by businesses?*'

This question was asked to see to what extent policy maker's thought that the business education students were receiving was consistent with the values of businesses. It can be argued that the findings reveal that the policy makers hold differing opinions as to whether or not the nature of the values possessed by businesses are the same as those values being transmitted within Business Education. For example, Policy Makers One, Six and Seven felt that they differed; Policy Maker Three felt that they were the same and Policy Makers Five and Six were neutral in their opinions.

The reasons provided by the policy makers for believing that a difference existed between the values being transmitted in Business Studies lessons and the values possessed by businesses were as follows:

Policy Maker One argued that if a Business Studies teacher has never worked within a business context then their knowledge of business values would be limited due to their lack of experience and that often if people are good at business they are not good teachers of the subject (this argument implies that she believes there to be a difference between the values being transmitted in the classroom and those possessed by businesses). She stated that:

'People that are successful in business are not academics – business is not an academic subject and this is worrying – Business Studies is an exciting game and GNVQ is nearer to the reality of it.'

Policy Maker Six said that she would *'doubt'* that the values being transmitted in Business Studies lessons are similar to the values held by businesses. This is because the majority of businesses at the end of the day look at *'the bottom line'* and would do anything to get there, to please the shareholders and that ethics go, *'out of the window'*. Again we see from this policy maker an appreciation of what can be taken for the structural values relating to Anglo-American capitalism.

Policy Maker Seven implied that she did not consider the values transmitted within business education to be the same as those held by businesses as she stated that:

'We are trying to make it this way, for example, with the use of terminology.'

As mentioned above, Policy Maker Three felt that the values being transmitted in Business Studies lessons and the values possessed by business organisations were:

'Possibly in alignment at the moment.'

This is because she feels that:

'The average student ends up believing it is all about profit and that organisations give 'lip service' to 'values'.'

She qualified this statement further by saying that:

'The good student can see that even if this is true of the majority of businesses - they do appreciate how a business can survive with different values.'

In this case, there is a sense in which the policy maker sees profit as the bottom line driving businesses but that they can practise other values.

Whereas, Policy Maker Four and Five did not consider it their 'job' to be transmitting business values, but instead they should be providing students with the skills and knowledge in order to be able to challenge the values held by businesses. They also stated that in their opinion:

'Nobody can make a decision in a business without considering values – some of these will be economic values and others psychological.'

2. Summary.

The first questions asked were about the general position of Business Studies within the curriculum and the values that should be associated with the curriculum in general. It is clear that policy makers saw the curriculum in general as fostering understanding and the development of appropriate ethical values in order for students to be integrated in society. In this context they saw Business Studies, typically, although not in every case as being part of these general aims. However, when it come to the question of business values, some saw a degree of tension between what they considered the businesses' bottom line value – that of profit and other values that may conflict with it. Not all expressed a tension between 'profit' and other values. For example, Policy Maker four talked of businesses making a:

'Positive contribution to the community and this is not necessarily through profit.'

Similarly, Policy Maker Six stated, in relation to which values should be transmitted in Business Studies lessons, that:

'Values relating to the fact that businesses may not just be interested in profit but also that they should be contributing to the community.'

Moreover, the particular account of profit in this respect, were suggestive of the way it is understood in Anglo-American capitalism, although given the data above it could not be put more strongly than that. However, if we see the 'hire-fire' culture as a characteristic' of Anglo-American capitalism, then Policy Maker Three made reference to it, when she said that:

'You cannot bring values to play at time in what you do as it is not acceptable to do this – on a daily basis employees do not apply values, as they do not want to get, sacked.'

Another example, again from Policy Maker Three is in her response to the question:

'Do you believe that the values transmitted in business education are similar to the values held by businesses?' Here she responded by stating that they are: *'Possibly in alignment at the moment,'* as she felt that: *'The average student ends up believing it is all about profit'.*

What is apparent from the interviews with the policy makers is that while some see that there are other values and practices that businesses engage in which are beneficial and could be seen as ethical, there is also a concern that questions of profit, while a business value, do not necessarily relate to ethical values.

The next five chapters of this thesis will present the findings generated from the teacher and student research conducted for this study. This will enable the reader to obtain a more comprehensive insight into the view of the teachers and students in relation to the nature of the values being communicated during Business Studies lessons.

CHAPTER FOUR

TEACHER INTERVIEWS

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the teacher interviews. The teacher interviews took place between 1999 and 2001, in total five teachers participated in this research. As previously mentioned in the research methodology (see Chapter Two) the teachers taking part in this study were employed at either Smith's College or Jones College and teach the students participating in this research. Class One ('A' level Business Studies) was taught by Hugo and Georgiana, Hugo and Georgiana have both been teaching Business Studies for twelve years. Class Two ('A' level Business Studies) was taught by Hugo (1999-2001), Nick (1999-2000) and Georgiana (2000-2001); Nick had only taught Business Studies for one and a half terms, his specialist subject is Economics. Class Three (GNVQ Advanced Business Studies) were taught by Amanda, she had been teaching the subject for sixteen years and Class Four ('A' level Business Studies) were taught by Melena, a teacher for two years.

In total eight questions were put to the teachers during their interviews, which took place in February 2000 (see Appendix Two for details of the questions asked). These questions were designed to gather background information on the teachers and to gain an insight into their opinions relating to the nature of values and business values, i.e. why had they decided to teach Business Studies and how long had they been teaching the subject for; to establish the type and nature of values possessed by the individual teachers; to assess the level of importance that they placed upon 'their values'; to discern whether or not they tried to transmit values during their lessons and to obtain their opinion as to whether or not their 'personal' values were consistent (of a similar nature) with those held by business organisations.

1. Key findings arising from the interviews conducted with the teachers.

Several key findings emerged from the one-to-one teacher interviews: None of the teachers had intended to teach Business Studies and only one of the teachers had first hand experience of ‘industry’; the teachers possessed different ‘objectives’ when teaching Business Studies; the level of importance attached to the teaching of values during Business Studies lessons varied amongst the teachers; the nature of the values that the teachers intended to transmit during their Business Studies lessons and their perceived success or failure in communicating them varied; the teachers thought that the nature of their own personal values typically differed from those held by business; business values were associated with profitability; anti-business sentiments or a degree of scepticism about particular business practices were expressed and implied by the teachers in their responses to the questions asked. In addition there was the suggestion that there may have been differences between the men and women teachers in their approach to issues of values.

These key findings will now be considered in greater depth with reference to the evidence generated during the teacher interviews, and the findings obtained during the Policy Maker Research (see Chapter Three).

1.1. The teacher’s specialist subjects and employment history

It was evident from the teacher interviews that none of them had intended to teach Business Studies; for example, Hugo had been teaching Business Studies for twelve years but originally had trained as an Economics teacher. He stated that he started teaching Business Studies because:

‘The Economics numbers would shrink and I saw the potential of a more stable career in Business Studies – also due to the internal politics within the Economics Section – I wanted to get out.’

Georgiana (who has also been teaching Business Studies for twelve years) stated that:

'I had intended to teach Economics or Sociology and then the Business Studies job came up and I thought I would give it a go.'

The reason provided by Nick (an Economics teacher), who had only been teaching Business Studies for one and a half terms, was:

'To add an extra string to my bow.'

Amanda, who had been teaching Business Studies for sixteen years, said that:

'I trained to teach Home Economics but was diagnosed with illness – it was suggested that I re-trained in Science, Maths or Business Studies. Business Studies appealed so I re-trained in this area. I started teaching Business Studies in 1983 to thirteen to fourteen year olds, I also taught 'O' level Commerce and Word Processing – I have been teaching GNVQ since it came out.'

Having worked as an Accountant for several years Melena decided to undertake a PGCE in History (her original degree was in History) in order to teach this subject, but:

'After one year I had not found a job in the subject so I went into teaching Business Studies.'

Melena has now been teaching Business Studies for two years.

All of the teachers (apart from Melena) were experienced; who in the case of Hugo, Georgiana and Amanda have been teaching Business Studies for a considerable length of time. They would have attended numerous courses run by the examination boards relating to the content of the syllabus, which would have enhanced their subject knowledge.

In addition to the lack of any formal 'Business Studies' training that may impact upon their knowledge of business values, it could also be suggested that their lack of 'first hand' business experience, may also impact upon their knowledge of business values.

This is because only one of the teachers taking part in this study, Melena, had any direct experience of the ‘business world’ and Policy Maker One (see Chapter Three for more detail) stated that in her opinion, if a Business Studies teacher has never worked within a business context then their knowledge of business values would be limited due to their lack of experience. As she noted:

‘People that are successful in business are not academics – business is not an academic subject and this is worrying.’

This issue will be raised again in Chapter Eight of this thesis but it is worth noting that the idea that the teachers will transmit either, received values down the policy chain, or in some sense simply reproduce the structural values associated with Anglo-American capitalism is at least made problematic by their responses.

1.2. Teaching objectives

The objectives possessed by the teachers when teaching Business Studies varied¹³, for example, Hugo’s main teaching objective was:

‘To cover the syllabus and to get interaction with the students.’

Georgiana’s main objective was:

‘To get the students to understand concepts by making them meaningful and applicable to their lives in some way.’

Nick, when asked, said that his main objective was:

‘To develop the skills of the students, for example, to make use of the knowledge element of the lesson instead of just understanding it.’

¹³ This question was asked (see question three in Appendix Two) in order to ascertain whether or not any of the teachers specifically intended to transmit business values during their lessons.

Melena said that she wanted to:

‘Give the students a broad understanding of the business world – relating theory to practice.’

Amanda’s main objective was for:

‘The students to gain an understanding of the business world and its terminology – I rank this higher than teaching for the students to pass their exam – GNVQ is good as it is coursework based and needs understanding rather than lengthy exams.’

Clearly the teaching objectives described above differ. Some of the teachers, for example, Hugo, Nick and Georgiana stated that their main objectives related to academic and related communication goals i.e. to get the ‘interaction’ of the students or to develop their ‘skills’. These objectives could be described as very general in nature and applicable to the majority of subjects being taught at this level, whereas Melena and Amanda had teaching objectives which it could be argued are more subject specific i.e. for the students to understand the ‘business world’.

It could be conceived that this divergence is due to the nature of the qualifications being taught by the teachers and their background experience. For example, Hugo, Nick and Georgiana were teaching an ‘A’ level in the subject, which has historically been classified as an ‘academic’ qualification and would therefore account for their teaching objectives being academic in nature, whereas Amanda, was teaching a more vocational qualification, GNVQ, which would be focussed towards the ‘work place’ rather than the academic environment. This could account for her teaching objectives that relate to the ‘business world’. Melena, on the other hand, is teaching an academic subject, the ‘A’ level, yet her teaching objectives relate to the ‘business world’ – does this reflect back to her previous employment within the ‘business world’ and a perception that the nature of the subject is more ‘vocational’ rather than ‘academic’? (See Chapter Eight).

1.3. Transmitting values in Business Studies lessons

Detailed below are the responses provided by the teachers to the question: *'Do you believe that the transmission of 'values' is important when teaching Business Studies?'*

The teachers were asked this question as it was anticipated that it would provide the researcher with an indication as to the level of conviction that they possessed in relation to whether or not values should be transmitted during their lessons – it was conceived that the higher the level of conviction, the more likely values would be transmitted during their lessons.

Hugo, responded very briefly to this question, by saying:

'Not really – there is a bit in the syllabus.'

Where as Georgiana's response was:

'Yes.'

Nick said, in response to the question detailed above:

'No.'

When asked, *Why not?* He replied:

'I like to be neutral.'

Amanda said:

'It is no different than in any other subject – values should be taught across the board in all subjects – it is not different in Business Studies.'

Melena responded as follows:

'Yes, as an Accountant you have to be professional – so morals in business are important. I do not feel that it is my place though to force people to believe what I believe.'

It is apparent that three 'themes' are starting to emerge from the interviews conducted with the teachers: The first of these 'themes' suggests the existence of gender dimensions, for example, the female teachers believe that the transmission of values is important when teaching Business Studies where as the male teachers do not believe this to be the case. Secondly, Melena often refers to the 'business world' when responding to the questions being asked, suggesting that indeed some experience of business is important when teaching about values but; lastly, some of the teachers believe that the values transmitted in Business Studies lessons should be the same as those being transmitted elsewhere in the curriculum and this may be because as with Policy Maker Seven, they believe education should be about more general sets of values or it could be because they have not had first hand experience of business practices and values associated with that practice.

1.4. The nature of the values the teachers intend to transmit during Business Studies lessons and their perceived success or failure in transmitting their stated values.

The fifth question that the teachers were asked during their interviews was: *'When teaching Business Studies do you try to transmit any form of 'values' to the students?'* This question was posed in order to ascertain, firstly whether or not the teachers try to transmit values during their lessons and secondly to gather information relating to the nature of the values that they intend to transmit, i.e. do they reflect those values that are structural or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism. This information would then be used for comparison purposes with the research findings obtained from other aspects of this study i.e. teacher lesson observations, in order to generate conclusions relating to the nature of the values being communicated or transmitted during Business Studies lessons.

The teachers' responses to the above question are consistent with the answers that they provided to the earlier question: *'Do you believe that the transmission of 'values' is important when teaching Business Studies?'* and it also indicated that their views relating to whether or not values should be transmitted during lessons varied. This was because the male teachers did not intend to transmit business values whereas the female teachers did. For example, both Hugo and Nick said that they did not try to transmit any form of values to the students during their lessons. The reason provided by Hugo for not wanting to transmit values was that he was:

'More interested in the financial aspects of the course.'

Nick qualified his response by saying that:

'No business values are transmitted but educational values are transmitted.'

What Nick means by educational values in practice remains to be seen and the observation of his lessons may help. But he does seem very focussed on what he sees as the core of Business Studies that is to impart practical knowledge, which does not seem to include a consideration of business values.

Georgiana, Melena and Amanda's responses to the question are presented below; it can be seen that their responses differ from those provided by their male colleagues i.e. they believe that values should be transmitted during Business Studies lessons.

Georgiana said that:

'Yes, I try to transmit values – to get them to think about ethical and social issues – people issues – I act as a 'counter balance' to Hugo – I try to tell the students that it is not just profit that is important – to provide an alternative picture of business.'

It is apparent that Georgiana, is concerned to teach explicitly about values that go beyond the narrow consideration of profit, which may be considered the central focus of Anglo-American capitalism.

A similar view is taken by Amanda:

'Yes, personal values, understanding and caring of other members of the group. Development of listening skills – ethical behaviour – not telling 'tales' on people.'

Melena also tried to transmit values; she provided the following example of when she transmitted values:

'If I am talking about a scenario, I would point out if any moral aspects are involved.'

It is significant to note that apart from Nick and Hugo, all of the teachers taking part in this study, intend to transmit ethical values rather than those that may be associated more directly with Anglo-American business values such as profitability.

Additionally, it is apparent that the teachers' responses comprise very similar values to those stated by the policy makers when the policy makers were describing the values they felt 'ought' to be transmitted in Business Studies lessons. For example, the values that Georgiana intends to transmit (see above) are very similar to those values that Policy Maker Four (senior lecturer and consultant for QCA) felt ought to be transmitted in Business Studies lessons i.e. that firms make a *'positive contribution to the community and this is not necessarily through profit.'*

Therefore, based upon the evidence contained within this section of the thesis, it could be suggested that there is some correspondence between the values that teachers and policy makers believe ought to be taught. The only exception is that the values that Policy Maker One felt ought to be transmitted, which tended to relate more directly to Anglo-American capitalism, but none of the teachers saw this as a clear goal.

The values the teachers intended to transmit are more closely aligned with the values that the policy makers feel 'ought' to be transmitted in comparison with the values that the policy makers felt 'actually' were being transmitted (the values that the policy makers thought were being transmitted were structural to Anglo-American capitalism).

Overall, the findings generated during the policy maker and teacher interviews indicate that both groups consider values, which are not intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism, important.

Yet despite this finding, it is worth foreshadowing - from the student research findings (see Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight) that the students consider profitability to be the most important business objective, (profitability is a value or objective that is structural to or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism) as opposed to an objective or value which reflects those being transmitted between the policy makers and the teachers. The question therefore arises as to the source of the student's knowledge/beliefs – are the values that the teachers stated that they intended to transmit during their lessons being transmitted? Are the teachers transmitting Anglo-American capitalist values unintentionally? Or has some other extraneous factor influenced the student's knowledge of business values and objectives?

When asked whether the teachers thought they were successful in transmitting values it is significant to note that although, evidence is to the contrary i.e. the students believe that profitability is the most important business objective, the teachers generally felt, with one exception, that they had been successful in transmitting their intended business values; for example, Nick thought that he was successful in transmitting educational values. This was because:

‘The students hand in work on time, do not disturb others and have pride in their work’.

Here we can see that for Nick, educational values are those associated with good work habits, one of the points that Bowles and Gintis (1976) made in suggesting that schools were designed to socialise students into capitalist work.

Georgiana believes that she has a certain level of success in transmitting values:

'Some of the students hear me and they stop and think – perhaps they will react in the future. The impact is limited as they often think that I am a 'radical' and it is my problem and not theirs.'

Where-as Melena said that:

'I do not know if I am successful in getting values across – but I do not consider it to be my role.'

This statement (see above) made by Melena is slightly ambiguous, as earlier she had suggested that she intended to transmit moral values when discussing scenarios with the students. The values that Melena communicates during her lessons will be considered in greater depth when the findings obtained whilst observing her lessons are reviewed – see Chapter Eight of this thesis.

Amanda responded to the question, *'Do you believe that you are successful in transmitting values?'* as follows:

'Yes, I hope I am – it is difficult to know for certain – I believe that it is linked to the way that they treat me – I hope it comes through.'

1.5. – Are the values held by the teachers consistent with those possessed by business organisations?

It was fascinating to note that all of the teachers taking part in this study did not believe that their own personal values were similar to those possessed by businesses, often implying or 'hinting' that their own personal values 'conflicted' with the values possessed by business organisations. Indeed, their view of business values seemed to be similar to what may be considered the values intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism. This finding reflects Sennett's (1998, 2006) arguments that are presented in Chapter One of this thesis. For example, Hugo stated the following:

'The main objectives of businesses relate to being targeted, ruthless, a rat run or race in business – my values are not consistent with this. I am not interested in debating business values, but feel that I am not at ease with the culture driving businesses. Personally I would not want to work in that environment. I am not criticising business values – but would not want to work in there. The values held by businesses do improve the standard of living.'

Georgiana said that:

'My values are not consistent – the main value of a business is to make money – I think that they should make money but not put it on a pedestal – it should be one of several values and not the most important.'

Nick thought that:

'The main value of a business is to make profit – my values are different to this. I have a gut feeling that my values are not consistent with business values – I have no experience.'

Melena said that:

'No, my values are more moral than those of a business – I am too honest. Businesses are mainly concerned with their own well-being at the expense of the customer.'

Amanda had the impression that:

'The main aim of business is to make a profit and values cannot be questioned as they are trying to make a profit. They should behave responsibly, ethically, they should understand the workforce and question what happens – the ideas of a human being should be compared against a business – businesses do not really care. People in business care but the money motive wins. Individuals cannot act like this. I do not think that my values are consistent with business values as businesses do not care about outcomes but I do.'

It is significant that all these teachers were highly sceptical of what they took to be the core values of business. It raises two questions; the first concerns the literature on anti-business or industry values in Britain (Wiener, 1981; Barnett, 1986). But it also raises questions about how students see values to businesses. Do they share their teachers' views?

The statements made by the teachers (see overleaf) also indicate that several of the teachers (Georgiana, Nick and Amanda) classify profitability to be a business value. This finding provides additional evidence (the policy makers were also of this opinion – see Chapter Three for more detail) to substantiate the argument contained within Chapter One of this thesis that profitability can be classified as both a business objective and a business value.

1.6. – Gender differences

The final key finding to emerge from the teacher interviews related to the issue of gender. It could be argued that on several occasions, during the teacher interviews, the answers reflected gender differences. For example, when responding to the question: *'Do you believe that the transmission of values is important when teaching Business Studies?'* it was noticeable that the male teachers did not believe that values transmission was important where as the female teachers did, although in the case of Melena there was some ambiguity.

In addition to possessing different views relating to the importance of value transmission during Business Studies lessons it was also evident that gender differences existed when the teachers considered the nature of the values that they intended to transmit during their lessons. For example, Hugo and Nick either did not try to transmit values during their lessons or adopted a 'neutral' approach to their teaching where as the female teachers aimed to transmit values related to ethics, people, social issues, caring and morals.

It could be suggested that this finding reflects the views expressed by Kohlberg (1958,1981) and Gilligan (1982). This is because when the teachers make the decision to either transmit or not transmit values during their lessons, it is evident that the male teachers decided to be 'neutral' where as the female teachers decided to take a more 'sensitive' or 'caring' approach as they believe that ethical values should be transmitted or raised. It is also interesting to note that the nature of the values being transmitted by the female teachers reflect 'social', 'people' and 'caring' issues, (see Gilligan, 1982). Whether this is a robust finding would need to be subject to further analysis because it may be that the interviews did not probe this issue sufficiently deeply. However, the lesson observations should be able to throw more light on the question.

2. Prevailing themes

Having reviewed the findings obtained from the teacher interviews, it is apparent that the following six themes prevail: Firstly, the teachers classify profitability to be a business value (see section 1.5), this view was also expressed by the policy makers and supports the arguments presented in Chapter One of this thesis which concludes that profitability can be classified as both a business objective and a business value.

Secondly, it is evident that the teachers either do not intend to transmit values during their Business Studies lessons or aim to transmit ethical values that may be applicable to more than one economic system i.e. they have general application.

The third theme to prevail within the findings obtained during the teacher interviews, relates to anti-business sentiments. These 'sentiments' were expressed by some of the teachers (Amanda and Melena) during their interviews and were also evident in the comments made by the teachers when comparing their personal values with those possessed by business organisations. These comments indicated the presence of 'conflict' between the personal values possessed by the teachers and those values practices by business organisations; this finding was also prevalent within the policy maker interviews. As both the policy makers and the teachers expressed this view, it will be interesting to see if these sentiments are being communicated/ transmitted

further down the policy chain to the students (see Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight).

The final theme to emerge from this element of the research relates to Melena. As mentioned previously, Melena is the only teacher taking part in this study that has past business experience. It was evident on numerous occasions, when she responded to the questions posed during her interview that she would refer to her business experience or to the ‘business world’; for example, when Melena was asked whether or not she felt that her own personal values were similar to those held by businesses, she responded as follows:

‘No, my values are more moral than those of a business – I am too honest. Businesses are mainly concerned with their own well-being at the expense of the customer.’

This differed from the nature of the responses provided by the other teachers, who did not refer to the business world as frequently – although they did imply that they perceived their personal values to ‘conflict’ with those possessed by business organisations, which was also the case with Melena. Therefore, it is possible that the view put forward by Policy Maker One could be accurate: if a teacher has never worked within a business context then their knowledge of business values would be limited due to their lack of experience. Although, in the case of Melena her business experience did not prevent her from being sceptical about business values.

The themes described above, which have emerged from the one-to-one teacher interviews, have been compared and contrasted with the Policy Maker Research findings but as yet have not been related to either the classroom observation findings or the findings generated during the research with the students. Therefore questions still remain unanswered in relation, for example, to the nature of the values being transmitted in Business Studies lessons.

The next four chapters of this study will consider the findings obtained from the classroom observations and the student research – these findings will subsequently be

compared and contrasted with the evidence contained within this and the previous chapter of this thesis, in order to formulate conclusions.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS - SMITH'S COLLEGE, CLASS ONE

Introduction

In this chapter and Chapters Six to Eight the analysis generated from the different research methods used during the study in relation to the students is presented, in order to generate possible hypotheses and explanations.

It was anticipated that due to the longitudinal nature of the research process, any anomalies or contradictions that arose between the 'findings' generated from the different types of data collection could be theorised, explained and clarified. The series of questionnaires that were administered were used as a way of generating questions that needed pursuing in relation to the focus group question sessions and to keep in mind in relation to the analyses of the scenarios. In a sense they acted as a heuristic device or prompt for further investigation. On their own, the numbers responding to the questionnaires was small, especially when broken down by colleges and classes: as a consequence very little that was valid could be inferred from the questionnaire data. However it proved useful when used in the way described above and will be referred to where it raised further questions that were pursued.

1. Themes arising from the Student Research

Four prominent themes emerged from the data, as described in Chapter 2. These were as follows: (i) profit prevailed as the 'most' important business objective when the students were asked directly what they considered to be the main objectives of businesses (ii) the majority of the students possessed ambiguous attitudes towards

businesses, this is inferred from the absence of any positive business or industry comments/views expressed by the students during the course of the research and the presence of negative statements relating to some of the activities of businesses (iii) students part-time jobs is where the students seemed to learn most about business values. In particular, this aspect of the research raised questions about the degree to which the students would conform to the values held by their future employer (iv) there appeared to be some gender differences in the approach taken to business values.

1.1. Class One – an overview

Class One is an ‘A’ level Business Studies Class and was taught by both Hugo and Georgiana. Hugo and Georgiana have both been teaching Business Studies for twelve years. Hugo had originally intended to teach Economics and Georgiana Sociology but due to a greater number of jobs available in Business Studies in comparison to their specialist subject, they ‘ended up’ teaching Business Studies. The focus group that comprises members of Class One is Focus Group A; see Table 4.1: for details of the membership of Focus Group A:

Table 4.1: - Focus Group A member details

Gender	Age	Student Studied Business Studies at GCSE?	Occupation of Parent One.	Occupation of Parent Two.
James	16	No	Manager	Admin/Clerical
Peter	17	No	Carer	N/A
Tom	17	No	Admin/Clerical	Hospital Porter
Jane	17	No	Admin/Clerical	Admin/Clerical
Sam	16	No	Manager	Supervisor

It can be seen from Table 4.1: above that the students in Focus Group A possess very similar characteristics in relation to their age, academic background and socio-economic 'status' with one exception.

1.2. Profit

A prominent theme that emerged from the quantitative research and the teacher interviews was the dominance of the business objective, 'profitability'. This was initially apparent in the responses received to the following question that the students were asked: *'What do you think are the main objectives of businesses?'*

Talbot (2000) suggests that the values held by an organisation will have an influence upon its, 'intrinsic' and 'instrumental' goals, i.e. the values of an organisation will be reflected within its objectives. It was thought by asking this question the researcher would gain an insight into the students perceptions of the nature of an organisation's values, this would in-turn reveal whether or not the students taking part in this study consider profit to be both a value and business objective or goal.

The initial responses provided by the students in Class One (quantitative research) when considering the importance of the concept of 'profitability' were rather ambiguous and therefore it is necessary to refer to the more 'open-ended' questions that were included within the quantitative research and the focus group research in order to clarify the findings obtained. For example, during the first phase of the study (February 2000) only three members of Class One did not classify profitability to be one of the 'main' objectives possessed by a business organisation; where as during the third phase of the research (November 2000), when the students were asked which business objective they classified as being most important, 33% of the students (5 students)¹⁴ classified profitability as most important, decreasing to 25% (2 students) in the final phase of the research (May 2001). However, the concept of profitability still featured in the student's responses as during phases three

¹⁴ Despite only 33% of the students classifying it as the most important objective during the third phase of the research this was the most frequently stated response this was also the situation during the final phase of the research

(November 2000) and five (May 2001) all of the respondents from Class One, when asked on their questionnaires, considered it to be a business objective.

The finding that profitability dominated the students responses during the first phase of the study (February 2000) was not totally surprising, as it was suggested in Chapter One of this thesis, that in the context of Anglo-American capitalism, profit can be regarded as both a value in its own right or as a 'goal' or objective of a business; if it is being regarded as a business objective then 'other' values may underlie it; for example, to provide good customer service. The 'values' that underlie the objective of profitability could in some instances be classified as values that are intrinsic or structural to 'other' economic systems i.e. they are values in their own right. For example, good customer service is intrinsic to Japanese capitalism but might also be regarded as instrumental in the achievement of profit maximisation within the context of Anglo-American capitalism. Therefore when reviewing the research findings, as one of the main objectives of this study is to discern the nature of the values possessed by the students i.e. do they reflect Anglo-American capitalism or other varieties of capitalism? A distinction will be made between those values that underlie the objective of profitability and those values mentioned by the students, which are values in their own right.

Having ascertained the students' views on the objectives of business organisations it would then be possible to see if the findings obtained were common to all of the classes, focus groups and to note any gender dimensions. The findings obtained from this research could subsequently be used to test the claims made by Bowles and Gintis (1976) that a correspondence exists between the values transmitted in education and the prevailing economic system.

Although only 33% of the students in Class One classified profitability to be the most important objective during the third phase of the study it was significant to note that when explaining why their chosen objective was most important (a more open-ended question, that was contained within the quantitative research), the following responses were provided by some of the students who had not previously classified profitability as most important:

Clarissa had stated that ‘*a good reputation/image*’ was the most important objective because:

‘If people see your company in a good light and you sell good quality goods or provide a good quality service, more people will be inclined to purchase your goods/services. This leads to increased profits etc.’

Greeta thought that becoming an ‘*international company*’ was most important as:

‘If a business becomes international then, it becomes better known, has more trade, wider/bigger market share and increases its profits.’

And Merlin thought that providing ‘*the best service*’ was most important:

‘Because it will lead to being the best. Staff will be satisfied and profits will be maximised because of it.’

It is evident from the statements above that despite these students not classifying profitability or profit maximisation as the most important objective when specifically asked in the quantitative research, that they do classify it as an important ‘goal’ or the ‘ultimate’ objective of business organisations. For example, Clarissa believes that if a business establishes a good reputation it will eventually lead to ‘increased profits’; Greeta feels that by becoming ‘international’ will lead to an increase in profits and finally Merlin believes that a ‘knock-on’ effect of providing the ‘best service’ will be ‘maximised’ profits.

A similar finding was observed during the final phase of the study (May 2001) i.e. despite only 25% of Class One stating that they considered profitability to be the most important business objective, when asked the ‘more’ open-ended question, as to why they considered their chosen objective to be most important, the reasons given implied that some of the students perceived the ultimate business objective to relate to profit maximisation despite not directly indicating that this was the case.

For example, Robbie thought that the most important business objective was to increase *'market share'*, as:

'If you can increase market share then you can recycle more packaging and do more to be 'green'. You will also make a bigger profit which helps to grow the business.'

In the light of the student comments detailed above, it can be suggested that although aspects of the quantitative research initially implied that the number of students classifying 'profitability' as the most important business objective in Class One declined during the course of this research; this might not be the case. Instead, it could be suggested that during the study the students knowledge of the nature of business objectives may have developed/increased i.e. their knowledge relating to the concept of market share, environmental objectives and customer or employee objectives may of expanded; however, despite this increased knowledge some of the students still perceive profit to be the 'ultimate' business objective or goal. The question therefore arises as to the source of this increased knowledge – can it be attributed to the transmission of values during their Business Studies lessons? This question will be addressed within this thesis.

While profitability is clearly seen as important, there are other values associated with making a profit that emerged during the third phase of the research when Focus Group A classified, 'good customer service' to be the most important business objective, but when asked why, the response received was as follows:

Focus Group A – Phase Three - 21st November 2000 – Four Male and One Female Student Present - note that bold text refers to questions posed to the group.

'State as many business objectives as you can.'

'To maximise profit.' (Tom)

'To provide good customer service.' (Peter)

'A good product and after sales service.' (Sam)

'Image in the community.' (James)

'To expand.' (Peter)

'Which objective that you mentioned, would you consider to be most important?'

'Good customer service' (Tom)

'Yeh – then move onto profit and all that lot' (Peter)

'Explain why you consider this to be the most important business objective.'

'If you cannot have good customer service or a good product you cannot sell to maximise profit and if you cannot maximise profit you cannot expand.' (Peter)

The issues raised by the students of good customer service and reputation in the community are significant because it is clear that for example treating people with respect, as is implied by customer service is important in the service of making a profit, although of course there is always the question of how much that 'respect' is authentic and not just instrumental.

Presented over is a transcript taken during the fifth phase (May 2001) of the student research. The transcript details the explanations provided by the members of Focus Group A when justifying their opinion that profitability is one of the most important business objectives:

Focus Group A – Phase Five (27th April 2001) – four male and one female student
(bold text refers to the questions asked.)

‘Which objective do you think is most important?’

‘Profit maximisation.’ (Jane)

‘Yes, profit maximisation.’ (James)

‘Customer service.’ (Peter)

‘Good product and service – you have to get a good product otherwise you will not get any customers.’ (Tom)

‘You have to treat your customers well otherwise they will not come back.’ (Peter)

‘In some cases it is profit maximisation.’ (Sam)

‘So you are split between profit maximisation and helping customers - Why are you treating your customers well?’

‘No, it is good business ethics really.’ (Sam)

‘That is the whole point of doing business is to provide a good product and a good service.’ (Peter)

‘It is a means to an end, though the whole point is profit.’ (Jane)

‘Essentially you just want to make money out of it.’ (Sam)

‘Yes, they just want to make a profit out of it.’ (Jane)

‘Not every business, the Hospitals do not.’ (Peter)

‘Every private enterprise starts out to make money.’ (Sam)

'They have to make money to survive.' (Jane)

'Which objective is most important then?'

'At the end of the day to make money.' (Sam)

'To make money.' (Jane)

'Yeh.' (James)

'At the end of the day, but you have got to have a good product to start with, therefore the most important is product.' (Sam)

'If you do not have quality you will not succeed and make profit.' (Peter)

'Good products sell at a good price.' (Sam)

It can be seen from the above transcript, that although the students were initially 'split' as to which objective was most important, it was concluded that, at the 'end of the day', to 'make money' or profitability were the most important business objectives – values which, without any qualification as regards say market share or other stakeholders, suggests values which are structural to or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism. However, this does not suggest that they unequivocally endorsed such values.

1.3. Anti-business and industry sentiments?

Detailed below is a transcription of the discussion with Focus Group A during the final phase of the research (May 2001) which illustrates the lack of 'trust' and conviction possessed by the members of Focus Group A, in the Value Statements held by businesses (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked by the researcher):

Phase Five Research – Focus Group A, 27th April 2001 – four male members and one female.

‘Why do businesses have values and create Value Statements?’

‘For reputation.’ (Jane)

‘The Manager may genuinely care about the environment or whatever...’ (Jane)

‘Do they produce them because they believe in the values?’

‘Some do and some do not - most of the big companies do it because people look down on them if they do not do it.’ (Sam)

‘They do it for reputation.’ (Tom)

‘They do it to save money for example to be energy efficient - they have to comply with environmental laws – and it gives them a good image if they comply with them.’ (Peter)

While, there is a degree of scepticism in these exchanges, it is also the case that the students take an ambiguous view. For example, Jane considers the possibility that managers may genuinely care about the environment, while Sam is also ambiguous.

When considering the business scenario entitled, ‘B J Pharmaceuticals Plc’ the ambiguity expressed above, by Focus group A, hardens into a rejection of the values associated with the actions of the American Pharmaceutical Business. The transcription below contains evidence of their views:

‘B J Pharmaceuticals Plc’, Phase Two Research, 30th June 2000, Focus Group A – four male members (note that bold text refers to the questions asked).

‘What is the problem here, what situation do you find yourself in?’

'Whether to have your 300% increase in what you paid for it, or to just take on this American firm, so that they can restrict availability of a drug that can save lives – it is a moral issue – isn't it really?' (Peter)

'What do you think you ought to do?'

'You do not take it – because it is a big American Company that is trying to take over everything, trying to get the whole market share and whole profits'. (Tom)

'They are only interested in their money'. (Peter)

'As they know that the company is going to be successful so they want the profits of it'. (Tom)

'If the company is really successful you will probably make a lot of money'. (Peter)

Tom condemned the activity of the 'big American company' that was trying to, 'to take over everything, trying to get the whole market share and whole profits' – in this statement it can be argued that he expressed concern at values related to practices which have been typical of Anglo-American capitalism i.e. takeovers and profit maximisation. Peter applies an ethical stand in making a judgement on the issue: For example he initially notes that – *'it is a moral issue – isn't it really?'* and later, *'they are only interested in their money'*.

Further evidence, of scepticism associated with values related to Anglo-American capitalism, are that during the focus group research the students did not express any positive comments in relation to businesses; it is also significant to note that when members of the focus group expressed negative views when considering this scenario, their peers did not contradict them.

In general it is apparent that not all the data point in the same direction. Given their initial enthusiasm for pursuing Business Studies as shown in the quantitative data, below what appears to be the case here is that whatever the initial motive for taking

Business Studies it may have been qualified with some concerns over the ethical position of some companies.

When this group of students was asked in the initial student questionnaire (February 2000), ‘Why did you decide to study Business Studies?’ a high percentage of the students (82%) said they had decided to study Business Studies at ‘A’ level either due to an interest in the subject or that they had enjoyed studying the subject at GCSE and also that, at the same time, nearly fifty percent of the class thought that studying the subject would help them with their future career or that having the qualification on their curriculum vitae would help them to obtain employment.

However, when a further question was posed, ‘*What would you like to do when you leave College?*’ when the questionnaire was administered during the third (November 2000) and fifth phases of the research (May 2001), in order to gauge their degree of ‘enthusiasm’ towards businesses and their interest in the subject, Table 4.2: below reveals that despite expressing an interest in the subject during the first phase of the study they wanted to go to University. But here it is interesting to note that only one of the students stated that they hoped to study Business Studies at University and only one student wanted to start their own business.

Table 4.2: - What would you like to do when you leave College?

Response	Class One Phase Three (November 2000)	Class One Phase Five (May 2001)
Number Of Respondents.	15	8
Work.	2(13%)	2 (25%)
Go To University.	9(60%)	6 (75%)
Go to University to study Business Studies.	1(7%)	0 (0)
Take a year out and then go to University.	1(7%)	0 (0)
To start my own business	1(7%)	0 (0)
Do not know yet	1(7%)	0 (0)

Yet there are questions here between the responses to the questionnaire and the focus group research. During the final phase of the focus group research it emerged that a greater number of students participating in the study wanted to go to University than had indicated during the quantitative research. For example, in Focus Group A, of those students hoping to go to University, half of them had applied to study Business Studies. Is this a case of split morality between the students' instrumentalism in wishing to pursue a Business Studies degree and their concerns over some business practices? Or is it the case that while they acknowledge that some business practices are in their view questionable, that does not invalidate business itself?

This raises three elements in relation to these findings: the question of the intrinsic interest that the students have in the subject, the possible instrumental approach to it and their concerns over some of the values espoused by some companies as in the case of the large pharmaceutical company. It could be argued that these are not necessarily contradictory outcomes but rather that the students are quite sophisticated in their reasoning. On the one hand the nature of their discussion in the focus groups and their engagement with the scenarios suggests that they are not disaffected or lack interest. It may be that they have the ability to discriminate between what they consider good and bad business practices in relation to the values presupposed. On the other, they may also see Business Studies as a job ticket. If this analysis is correct then it follows that their cynicism over the actions of the American Pharmaceutical company does not imply a rejection of capitalism per se: a point supported by some of them intending to study Business at University.

While some of the teachers participating in this study expressed sentiments sceptical of business during their one-to-one interviews, it could be argued that neither Hugo nor Georgiana categorically stated one way or another that they were either pro or anti-business (see Chapter Four of this thesis for more detail).

When we come to examine the notes from the classroom observations, it will be seen that the teachers, Hugo and Georgiana would sometimes raise ethical questions about certain business practices but in ways which are consistent with the students' ability to discriminate between 'good' and 'bad' ethical practices.

1.4. What values were the teachers articulating?

In order to investigate this question it is important to return to the typology of values that could be communicated. It will be recalled that there were at least four possibilities: (i) where teachers would raise questions of ethics in relation to business practices for the students to consider (ii) where value issues which could have been raised were not. The distinction between (i) and (ii) may be that while there may be ethical concerns about particular business practices there is silence or a tacit assumption that for example the capitalist system or a market approach to the public sector (see below) was taken as a given. (iii) where a teacher states her/his own value preferences but does not seek to convince others (iv) where there was a direct attempt at transmitting or inculcating values (v) where values are embedded in routine practices such as those relating to classroom management which may be form of discipline which readies students for the workforce, what will be referred to as work socialisation values. Of these (i), (ii) and (iv) were all in evidence.

The evidence obtained from the interviews was that Hugo and Georgiana communicate values of a different nature. When Hugo was interviewed at the commencement of this study he did not believe that he actively transmitted any values during his Business Studies lessons. He felt that his main objective was to teach the syllabus and therefore would only teach values when they were specifically mentioned within the syllabus.

When observing Hugo's lessons it became apparent that despite not, 'intending' to transmit values, both work socialisation and moral values were being raised with the students. Presented below are notes that were taken during the classroom observations. They comprise details of when the classroom observation occurred, the teaching objectives, the activities carried out during the lesson, details of the behaviour of the students being observed and a brief summary indicating whether or not values were being communicated during the lesson. If values were being communicated, the nature of the values is considered i.e. are they structural to Anglo-American capitalism.

Hugo's lesson observed – 29th March 2000.

Lesson objective – For the students to understand and apply Weighted Index Numbers.

Lesson content - Hugo started the lesson by telling the students about Index Numbers and how they can be weighted; he used the mini case study detailed below which relates to pay increases, in order to explain the concept:

The students were presented, on the White Board, with the following information; there are five Managers who received a pay increase from £30 to £33, ten Supervisors who received a pay increase from £8 to £10 and fifty workers that receive a pay increase of £5 to £6. The class were asked, by Hugo, why the Managers received a larger increase than the workers?

The students immediately thought that it was not fair that this should occur, they shouted out, 'its not fair' but Hugo pointed out that the firm would not be able to afford to pay the workers the same pay increase that the Managers were getting due to the number of workers in comparison to the number of Managers.

The above scenario was then applied to the National Health Service and the fact that Doctors receive a larger increase in their salary each year than Nurses. Hugo informed the class that he thought this was unfair, but he argued, there are more Nurses than Doctors, therefore the Government could not afford to give them a similar increase.

The class were then given another exercise to do which related to calculating the percentage pay increase given to an unskilled, semi-skilled, and a skilled worker. When they had calculated the percentage pay increase they then had to calculate the weighting. Hugo went through the answer to this question with the students on the White Board.

The lesson ended with the students working through a series of questions given to them on a hand out relating to Weighted Index Numbers.

What is interesting about this example is that Hugo both gives the 'Official Line' when it comes to managers earning more than workers but demurs when it comes to doctors and nurses. There is clearly a selective morality at work but the broader question of why managers should receive a pay differential at all far less one which is so significant is not discussed. In other words, we have here an example of a kind of selective values in which fundamental questions about the capitalist system are not raised but particular practices are seen as being at issue.

In contrast to the lesson above, another lesson of Hugo's was observed where a totally different category of values was communicated. Ostensibly this lesson was about the advantages and disadvantages of the public sector and this might have been a lesson ready made for the communication of values and debate about the advantages and disadvantages of the public sector. However, a neo-classical economic equilibrium analysis of monopoly, perfect competition and oligopoly was applied with the clear implication that a competitive market was likely to produce superior outcomes.

Hugo's lesson observed: 30th March 2001.

Lesson objectives – For the students to understand the advantages and disadvantages of the Public Sector.

Lesson content – Hugo drew a table on the White Board and asked the students for the advantages and disadvantages of Public Sector organisations. When considering the disadvantages Hugo used an example of the windows not opening in the classroom due to a lack of available resources to mend them.

The students were provided with some notes from the OHP on businesses in the Market Economy – it related to the 'Blue Sector' of the economy and its structure. He then placed some diagrams on the White Board describing the different types of competition i.e. Monopoly, Perfect Competition and Oligopoly – the students were asked to copy these down.

The students were given a worksheet to complete relating to supply and demand analysis and a handout to read relating to market forces for background information.

Hugo explained the answers to the questions on the work sheet using diagrams on the White Board to illustrate his explanations

The neo-classical approach taken in this lesson is exemplified by his reference to the broken windows. The implication being that in a perfectly competitive market situation this problem might have been solved. The issues that were not raised concerned all the questions that are raised by a state constructed quasi market that is state funded and in part or whole provided. In particular notions of service and coverage that ensures that all have equal access to good public provision. The problems raised by a market in education, for example, have been discussed in Lauder and Hughes et al, (1999).

When interviewed, it was evident that Georgiana thought that the communication of values was extremely important during Business Studies lessons; she stated that she actively tries to transmit values by making the students think about, ‘ethical,’ ‘social,’ and ‘people issues’ as previously mentioned in Chapter Four, these values are intrinsic to a variety of different forms of capitalism; for example, moral values or ethical values, might be utilised within Anglo-American capitalism, German or Japanese capitalism.

Detailed below are notes that were taken during the lessons being observed when Georgiana was teaching; it is evident from these notes, that in addition to communicating values relating to values in practice and routines that may be a form of work socialisation that she also communicated specific views as to the values she had mentioned in her interview.

Georgiana’s lesson observed – 31st March 2000.

Lesson objectives - *The objective of Georgiana’s lesson was to communicate to the students that factors other than money motivate employees within the workplace*

Lesson content - Georgiana placed the word 'remuneration' in the centre of the White Board and through a series of questions, answers and discussions with the students created a Spider Diagram depicting the rewards that employees receive at work.

The students were obviously interested in the lesson and keen to participate. A detailed discussion took place on how employees are rewarded at Sainsbury's where several of the students had part-time jobs.

During the discussion Georgiana mentioned that several businesses try to encourage their employees to be environmentally friendly by using public transport. She explained that they do this by offering their employees the option of having a company car or money.

A table was then placed on the White Board with two headings on it, employer's reason for setting a good rate of pay and employees concerns when accepting the level of pay. Georgiana completed this table with the students, which involved a series of discussions; issues such as the exploitation of employees by paying them a low wage and paying individuals what they feel they are worth were discussed. During this part of the discussion several of the students talked about their part-time jobs and the amount of money they were being paid in relation to the tasks that they had to perform.

The students were interested in the lesson, as they listened to Georgiana. They were keen to participate in the discussions, on several occasions issues related to values were discussed by Georgiana and the students under observation, for example when explaining about the environmental issues attached to employees not opting to have a Company Car.

It will be apparent that Georgiana's lesson was woven with issues relating to values, however, her communication of values was confined to telling examples that raised awareness, as in the case of the employers supporting employees use of public transport. Although, the introduction of the concept of exploitation would have provided the resource for students to think about the fairness of the wages they were receiving. However, what was not observed was Georgiana claiming that all low paid staff were exploited. In other words, her approach was similar to that of Hugo, in that

she was perhaps quicker to point to the ethical dimensions to some business practices there was no blanket rejection of the system. Nor did she state her own preferences.

In another lesson we see a further example of work socialisation values being communicated as well as a substantive question being raised.

Georgiana's lesson observed 9th June 2001

Lesson objective - *The objective of the lesson was to provide an overview of a Marketing Plan (revision session).*

Lesson content - *Georgiana initially spent half an hour creating, through a series of questions and answers a SWOT analysis on the White Board relating to Marks & Spencer.*

The students were then provided with a handout on Marketing Objectives as a help in devising a Marketing Strategy, Georgiana explained the contents of the handout to the students.

The students were then asked to complete a question from a past examination paper (they were allowed five minutes to spend on this). Georgiana went through the answer to the question that the students had been working on by asking the students for their answer and then writing it onto the White Board.

The students were then asked to complete a second question; Georgiana helped some of the students complete this question and then went through the answer with the class, discussing the answers provided before she wrote them onto the White Board.

The lesson ended by Georgiana saying that she hopes that this has given them an overview of the subject.

All three students being observed watched and listened to Georgiana, they also participated in the lesson for example: -

One of the students being observed told the class that M&S has been given bad press for tearing up unwanted clothes instead of giving them to charity – Georgiana responded to this comment by listening and writing the comment onto the board.

This served to highlight the waste that M&S created by the destruction of clothing, which again may have given the students something to think about as regards the wastage of competition. However, this lesson also illustrated the socialisation into work in terms of discipline and punctuality (Bowles and Gintis, 1976) that was communicated:

When a student entered the room late and apologised, Georgiana thanks them for this. Georgiana also expects the students not to talk during the lesson, she said:

‘No talking during this lesson as it is important for the exam’.

‘Be quiet and settle down as this is a revision lesson and important for the exam’.

The students worked in virtual silence during the lesson and Georgiana said that she expected to get the ‘Honda’ homework in from, ‘every single one of them’.

Here we see the teacher imposing a discipline structure on the students and also articulating expectations as to their future work.

Georgiana’s lesson observation – 15th November 2000.

Lesson objectives – *A recapping session on pay bargaining and industrial action.*

Lesson content - *The class were given a hand out on worker participation and highlighted the relevant areas that Georgiana brought to their attention.*

The rest of the lesson was spent trying to resolve a pay dispute. The class was split into two groups, one group representing the Management of an organisation and the other

the Union. The groups were given a hand out with information contained upon it, which they needed to refer to during the pay negotiations.

Georgiana provided the class with clear instructions on how the negotiations should progress, she did this both verbally and also put the instructions onto the board. Before the negotiations commenced the groups needed to decide upon their negotiating strategy and also what they would consider to be an ideal, realistic and fall back situation in terms of the negotiation.

Whilst the groups were deciding upon their strategies, Georgiana sat down at their tables and discussed their ideas with them, offering advice accordingly. Georgiana oversaw the negotiations and called time-out when it was necessary.

The class took a long time to reach an agreement, at one point Georgiana pointed out to them that they would be losing money, as they are not producing goods whilst the negotiations are taking place.

The students were also told to be realistic and not to over exaggerate their positions, for example the employers were holding out for a small pay increase, which was below inflation and the workers were exaggerating the difficulties experienced by the organisation i.e. lack of orders which was not contained upon the information sheet that they were originally handed.

The students being observed would listen to Georgiana when she was talking (see comment below); they participated in the role-play and spent time discussing their negotiation strategy with other members of their group (talking to peers on task). They also listened to and spoke to Georgiana about their strategy when she asked them how they were progressing and sat down with their group (talking to teacher on task).

The students participated in the negotiation, taking it very seriously and wanting to take the lead over the other party. The students would whisper to each other during the time-out period in order to prevent the other group from hearing their strategies.

During the course of the negotiation Georgiana would often quiz students in order for them to justify the comments or statements that they were making. The groups were given time to re-convene and consider their negotiating positions.

Values in relation to fairness over pay bargaining were at the heart of this lesson; yet Georgiana did not use it as an occasion to raise specific issues as regards these values nor her own position. She was more concerned to raise practical issues such as that the firm was losing money during the negotiations.

In addition to these factors, Georgiana also set out procedural rules that in the modern work context of the soft skills of teamwork and communication can be considered forms of work socialisation. When talking to the groups about their negotiation strategies again Georgiana insisted: *'I can only listen to one person at a time!'* She also provided the class with clear rules that needed to be followed during the negotiations; these included that if one side makes a point the other side needs to listen to what they have said and respond accordingly. She informed the class that the negotiation needed to be taken seriously and that if they make a statement they need to justify that position.

Georgiana's fifth lesson observation – 29th January 2001.

Lesson objectives – *For the students to learn about business ethics – fair trading and ethical trading.*

Lesson content – *The students were provided with a series of leaflets and handouts relating to the Co-op. Georgiana then placed the following questions upon the White Board; what does ethical trade mean? Provide examples of Fair Trade Products and what is ethical trade? The class were given ten minutes to answer these questions using the leaflets that they had been provided with.*

Georgiana went through the answers to the class on the White Board – Georgiana asked the class what the problem was with purchasing fair trade products to which they responded the price! In response to this remark she explained that within Europe we protect our farmers by providing them with subsidies were as outside of Europe the

farmers are not protected – therefore we should spend extra money on coffee because we have enough money.

The class were then given a hand out relating to unethical trading practices undertaken by Ford – the students were asked to read this.

One of the students being observed said to Georgiana that ethical trade is, ‘when you pay more for something,’ Georgiana responded to this comment by asking him to read the leaflet that she had provided him with.

This lesson could be considered as the clearest example of where a teacher states her/his own value preferences but in this case it could be argued that Georgiana also sought to convince the class that her position was right. In other words, a more direct attempt at transmitting or inculcating values. For example, Georgiana displayed conviction in her tone of voice and the enthusiasm with which she conducted this lesson, especially when she was explaining to the students about the ‘plight’ of farmers outside of Europe. Moreover, it was a case that the students’ parents could do something about, as the students would be aware of the Co-op and their parents would more than likely purchase shopping there due to the presence of a ‘big’ Co-op supermarket within the Town.

It was apparent that the teachers took a series of positions in relation to values, none were directly anti-business or capitalism but they were selective in the implied or direct criticisms of aspects of business practices and often related to moral considerations, for example when Georgiana stated that, *‘we should spend extra money on coffee because we have enough money’* and when Hugo referred to the concept of *‘fairness’* when considering the pay rises awarded to Doctors and Nurses. However, nor is it clear from these observations as to why profit is seen as the dominant objective in business.

The findings indicate that gender does not affect the respondent’s perception of the dominance of profitability as a business objective; although from the observations made during the focus group and scenario research, it may affect personal espoused values. This finding will be considered in more depth, when gender is addressed as a specific section within this chapter.

The question now arises as to the source of the view that the students see profit as the dominant value. One possible source of this opinion is not to be found in education but outside it, since most students had part-time jobs.

1.5. The relationship between the students' knowledge of business values and their part-time jobs.

The next theme to emerge from the quantitative research indicated the prevalence of a relationship between the part-time jobs carried out by the students and their knowledge of business values. If this theme is substantiated in other classes, then it is highly significant. This is because it gives an insight into how students construct their understanding of business values and provides a basis for the formulation of assumptions in relation to the transmission or non-transmission of values in Business Studies lessons.

In order to clarify and investigate this question it will be necessary to refer to the responses provided by the students during the focus group research, the teacher interviews and the classroom observation findings. The research so far does not show clearly how the students are acquiring the values relating to profit. The prior question that needed to be asked was whether they thought business values were being taught and if not, from where they got their understanding of business values.

Focus Group A – Phase Five Research, 27th May 2001 – four male students and one female student present (note that bold text refers to the questions asked).

'Are business values taught on the 'A' level Business Studies Course?'

'No.' (Peter)

'Not really, but business ethics are.' (Jane)

'How do you know about these business values then?'

'Experience.' (Peter)

'Experience in our jobs.' (Sam)

'You work it out for yourself during the course.' (James)

'At work.' (Peter)

'The way that you are brought up.' (Jane)

'What has been the main influence on your knowledge of business values?'

'Work (all).'

'We have to treat the environment and customers the same now in our par-time jobs as we would if we were full time members of staff.' (Sam)

'Not necessarily.' (Peter)

'Generally.' (Sam)

It can therefore be seen from the transcription above that the members of Focus Group A, believe that their part-time jobs have been the main factor that has influenced their knowledge of business values. For example, the majority of the students with part-time jobs work in retail outlets i.e. Tesco's and Sainsbury's, where it is not unreasonable to assume, they will be informed that if they provide good customer service profitability will increase. In other words, it is the practical experience of paid work, rather than education, which generates the unintended consequence of informing students' views as to the importance of profit.

However, we have seen from the data above that the students tend to have ambiguous views with respect to businesses, having a sense of both one's personal ethics or values and the 'structural' values that businesses typically, although not always adopt i.e. they make a profit or fail to survive.

1.6. Conforming to the values possessed by business organisations

During the fifth and final stage of the quantitative research (May 2001) the respondents were asked the question: ‘*When you commence your first full-time job, will you abide by the business values held by your employer?*’ The students were posed this question in order to gauge the level of conviction that they felt towards the values held by business organisations: to ascertain whether or not they would sacrifice their own personal values in favour of those held by their employer (if they differed) and to see if the responses provided by the respondents varied between the different classes, as this might reflect differences in transmission. The answers provided by the students in Class One to this question can be seen in Table 4.3: over:

Table 4.3: ‘When you commence your first full-time job, will you abide by the business values held by your employer?’

Class One – Fifth Phase – May 2001, a total of eight respondents.
Yes, because if you do not abide by the values of the Business, it may be considered gross misconduct.
Yes, as it is ‘morally’ right.
Yes, because everybody is equal to you. You are polite to customers so be polite to staff. They are good to you, so you are to them.
Yes, as disciplinary may be involved.
Yes, because I am an employee of the company and therefore should follow the business values. Negative affects may occur if business values are not followed.
Yes, to keep in the ‘good books’ of the company.
Yes.
No Comment.

The findings reveal that the majority of the respondents, in Class One, would ‘abide’ by the company objectives in order to be ‘accepted’ in to the organisation; this finding was not gender specific and raises the question of whether the respondents were

willing to sacrifice their own personal values in favour of those held by their employer (see the arguments of Sennett, 1998¹⁵).

The findings generated from the focus group research, in relation to the question:

'When you commence your first full-time job, will you abide by the business values held by your employer?' were slightly different to those generated during the student research and helped clarify the findings obtained to date. This is because the majority of the focus group members stated that they would try to find employment with an organisation possessing 'values' that they believed in, as they were under the impression that if they were not prepared to 'tow the party' line they would be 'sacked'; whereas the findings obtained from all the classes studied (apart from Class Two), implied that the students would conform to the values held by their employer despite lacking conviction in them. Members of Focus Group A, when considering the question, made the following comments:

Focus Group A - Phase Five, 27th April 2001, four male students and one female student present.

'Will you abide by the business values of the company that you work for when you leave College?'¹⁶,

'Yes.' (Peter)

'As much as possible.' (Sam)

'Unless you do not believe in them.' (Jane)

'Then you would loose your job anyway.' (Peter)

¹⁵ Sennett (1998) argues that individuals characters are being 'corroded' as a result of the individual within the workplace having to sacrifice their own personal values of, 'caring', 'trust' and 'commitment' in favour of those practiced by the 'new form of capitalism' which 'divorces will from behaviour' p.31.

¹⁶ Bold print relates to questions being asked to the focus group by the researcher

'If you did not like their values then you would not have worked for them anyway.' (Sam)

'You might not know when you take on the job.' (James)

'As soon as you find out about them you may say I cannot work for that company because I do not believe in what they were doing.' (Peter)

'Like Bob or Julia was saying would you work for a chemical firm producing tobacco for cigarettes.' (Peter)

'So even if you did not believe in the values of the firm you would have to go along with them for the sake of your job?'

'Yeh.' (Tom)

'Yes, because companies do not really like people who do not go along with the same thinking as them, do they?' (Sam)

'They are not really part of the company and what it stands for.' (Jane)

'Yes.' (Peter)

It can be seen from the transcripts presented above that the students are ambiguous about these questions; they seem to take a voluntarist view that they could choose to work for companies with values consistent with their own, which corresponds with the findings contained within the research report entitled: 'Young People in Britain: the Attitudes and Experiences of 12 to 19 Year Olds' (Park, Phillips and Johnson, 2004) which indicated that, when it came to paid work, 74 per cent of the respondents thought, that other things in life were 'more important' than paid work, for example their happiness. In other words, while they may not like the values a business espouses they will go along with them because in their overall value system paid work was not that important to them. This is an interesting issue that requires further investigation but stands outside this thesis. At the same time, the students are also clear

that companies would not look favourably on students whose values were inconsistent with their own.

However, the reality may be different to their voluntarist assumptions about choosing a company that has values consistent with their own. This is because if the economy is not buoyant, an individual may find it difficult obtaining employment and therefore out of financial necessity, they may find themselves having to sacrifice their ‘personal’ values in favour of those possessed by a business organisation; this in turn might cause them significant personal distress and the eventual ‘corrosion’ of their character due to their personal values conflicting with the values possessed by their employer (see Sennett, 1998).

1.7. Gender

To date the themes discussed within this chapter have not been analysed with respect to gender. Gender initially raised its ‘head’ during the focus group research, then whilst conducting the scenarios and subsequently during the student scenario research.

The transcription below relates to a discussion held by the members of Focus Group A (all male) during the second phase of the study when they were contemplating the business scenario entitled, ‘Mary’ (this scenario was designed to ‘test’ the nature of the student’s espoused values and to discern the presence of any gender differences in views– see the work of Kohlberg, 1958, 1981 and Gilligan, 1982). (See Table 3.3: for details of the scenario).

Focus Group A – Phase Two, 30th June 2000, ‘Mary’ – Four male members present (note that bold text refers to the questions posed to the group).

‘If you did tell the Manager and he/she decided to “fire” her - what would be the outcome?’

‘You would loose her friendship.’ (Tom)

'Yes. ' (Sam)

'You would also loose a few friends in the factory as well. ' (Peter)

'Not really, if you were all loosing money because of her. If you went into work and told the other workers that you had seen Mary in the Supermarket and everybody is loosing money as a result it would be OK, everyone would go along with you. ' (Sam)

The lack of sympathy felt towards Mary by the members of Focus Group A, which indicates that despite referring to Mary as a *'friend,'* the students feel little loyalty towards her when their own personal financial well-being was being jeopardised, is also witnessed towards the end of the discussion:

'What is the best solution to this?'

'Talk to Mary first. ' (Peter)

'Yes. ' (Tom)

'What if you talk to her and she does nothing about it?'

'It's her tough luck!' (Peter)

'Why is this the best solution?'

'As you have to tell her first – if you just tell the Manager she will be upset and that as well, she is also loosing her boyfriend (started laughing) – I can't take this anymore!' (Peter)

'It will give her time to sort out her priority'. (Tom)

'Instead of talking to Mary on her own could you get a group of you to do it?'

'Probably overpowering though. ' (Peter)

'Yeh.' (Tom/James)

'It would probably make it worse.' (Sam)

'If a group of you went to the Manager it would probably be better – if you got the agreement of everybody around it would not be one person.' (Peter)

'But a group of you going to her would be over powering and make things worse.'
(Peter)

'What about a group going to the Manager?'

'This would be good as you would get the backing of everybody and a better response than just one person as they may think that you bear a personal grudge or something.'
(Sam)

During the fourth phase of the study, Focus Group A was slightly more sympathetic towards Mary; as can be seen below. This is primarily due to the presence of a female member within the group, (she was absent during the second phase of the study). The male members of the group are still very unsympathetic towards Mary, referring to her at one point as, *'just rubbish'*¹⁷.

Focus Group A – Phase Four, 27th March 2000, 'Mary' – four male students and one female student present (note that bold text refers to the questions asked).

'How would you solve this problem?'

'Speak to her about it first.' (Tom)

¹⁷ It was interesting to note that a finding of the research entitled, 'Young People in Britain: the Attitudes and Experiences of 12 to 19 Year Olds' (Park, Phillips and Johnson, 2004) was that boys were more likely than girls to agree that a job was just to earn money, see Chapter One for more detail. This finding could be used to partially explain why the male members of Focus Group A felt less sympathy and loyalty towards Mary when their personal finances were in jeopardy.

'Yeh, try and get her to work harder.' (Peter)

'Yeh, that's what I would do.' (Jane)

So you would try and speak to her and get her to work harder?

'See if any change in her attitude after you have spoken to her.' (Jane)

'Give her a chance to sort it out before you tell any one else.' (Peter)

'Yes.' (Tom)

What would you actually say to her?

'Tell her to start working.' (James)

'Otherwise like your job would be in jeopardy.' (Jane)

Would you try and find out what the problem was?

'No.' (Peter)

'At the end of the day if she wants to tell you she will tell you herself.' (James)

'Tell her to go and talk to someone about it.' (Tom)

'Give her a month to sort it out.' (Peter)

'If she has not changed she should consider handing in her notice.' (Jane)

'Yeh – give her the sack.' (Peter)

'She does not really enjoy her job anyway, so she should be encouraged to get a job that she enjoys.' (Jane).

‘What would you do after the month?’

‘You would report back to the Boss and say it is not working.’ (Tom)

‘You would give her support to find a job as a friend.’ (Jane)

‘She has not been a very good friend to you!’ (Peter)

‘No, I would not, she has not been a very good friend to you, she has just been messing about and you have given her another chance, sod her!’ (Peter)

‘What would you say to the Boss?’

‘My friend is having some problem and try to take that into account and not to be too harsh.’ (Jane)

‘It might be best to talk to the rest of the team first and tell them what you are doing.’ (Tom)

‘Yes, as it is bound to get around anyway.’ (Jane)

While it is not clear how marked the differences in attitude to Mary are, there is a sense for both the boys and Jane that they think the bottom line is crucial for all of them. Jane realises that Mary has to ‘go’ hence she as with the others takes what she considers to be the – ‘Official’ or business ‘Line’ but wants to handle it with sensitivity. In contrast, the young men start by giving her a chance but suggesting it would be good to talk to her, but their attitudes harden, as there appears to be no change in her commitment to work.

1.8. Gender and the teachers' approaches to moral judgements

The evidence with respect to the teachers is also equivocal, when looking at their classroom practice. When interviewed the female teachers said that they were trying to address values that related to, 'personal values' i.e. 'caring' for other members of the group or values associated with, 'ethical,' 'social,' or 'people' issues (as mentioned earlier these values could be classified as being structural or intrinsic to all of the capitalist systems being considered within this study). Whereas the male teachers intended to transmit the values specifically mentioned in the syllabus. It can therefore be suggested that the female members of staff were adopting a more, 'caring' or, 'humanitarian' approach to the teaching of the subject in comparison to the male staff members.

Despite implying that she adopted a 'caring' approach to teaching, no specific examples were found of Georgiana displaying this approach during the lesson observations (see Amanda and Melena for examples of adopting a 'caring' approach – Chapters Seven and Eight respectively). It must be noted that this finding does not mean that she is not capable of adopting these stances, just that during the lessons observed, she was not witnessed acting in this way. Whereas, Hugo was observed, during his second classroom observation, communicating values relating to the concept of justice or fairness.

In the light of the findings detailed within this chapter, the following conclusions have been reached: The students in Class One are sceptical of the values and practices intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism, for example they imply that the Value Statements produced by business organisations operating within the context of Anglo-American capitalism cannot always be 'trusted'; profitability was categorised as a dominant business objective, perhaps not surprising when it seems to dominate business discourse in Anglo-American capitalism. The students in Class One distinguish between the nature of their own personal values or ethics (based upon morals or ethics) and those of the business or system; the source of the students knowledge in relation to business objectives and values appears to have been influenced by the part-time jobs conducted by the students as opposed to the transmission of values, by their teachers, during their Business Studies lessons.

Finally, in respect of the teachers, there appears to be a silence with respect to some values: those intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism in general or with the public provision of collective goods, although question of fairness and exploitation were raised.

The students seemed to be ambiguous as between their own private morality and their values towards businesses. This tension needs to be further explored in the following chapters. Equally, they seemed to think that while they might choose firms with values consistent with their own, when they considered the second scenario, it seemed as if the bottom line was crucial to their considerations in dealing with Mary.

When it came to looking at the gender dimensions, the presence of only one woman in the focus group made it difficult to draw any conclusions.

The next three chapters of this thesis will present the findings obtained during the research conducted with the other classes at Smith's College and at Jones's College: When reviewing these findings it will be interesting to see to what extent they throw light on the issues raised in this chapter, and/or mirror or replicate the evidence presented within this chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

RESEARCH FINDINGS - SMITH'S COLLEGE, CLASS TWO

Introduction – Class Two, an overview.

Class Two is an 'A' level Business Studies class, their teachers were Hugo (1999-2001), Georgiana (2000-2001) and Nick (1999-2000); Nick had taught Business Studies for only one and a half terms, his specialist subject is Economics. Table 5.1 below provides details of Focus Group B that comprises students from Class Two:

Table 5.1: - Focus Group B member details

Gender	Age	Student studied Business Studies at GCSE?	Occupation of Parent One.	Occupation of Parent Two.
Simon	17	Yes	Manager	Supervisor
Jon	18	Yes	Consultant	Admin/clerical
Paul	17	Yes	Manager	Admin/clerical
Martha	16	Yes	Supervisor	Admin/clerical
Andrew	17	Yes	Manager	Admin/clerical

It can be seen from Table 5.1 that Focus Group B comprises a predominantly male group, the students are of a similar age and have all studied Business Studies at GCSE; this contrasts with Focus Group A, as none of the students in that Focus Group had studied the subject as GCSE. The socio-economic status of the students is also similar.

1. Themes arising from the Student Research.

It will be recalled from the previous chapter that prominent themes emerged from the data. These were as follows: (i) 'profit' prevailed as the 'most' important business objective when the students were asked directly what they considered to be the main objectives of businesses (ii) the majority of the students possessed ambiguous attitudes towards business, this is inferred from the absence of any positive business or industry comments/views expressed by the students during the course of the research and the presence of negative statements relating to some of the activities of businesses; (iii) students part-time jobs is where the students seemed to learn most about business values. In particular, this aspect of the research-raised questions about the degree to which the students would conform to the values held by their future employer. (iv) there appeared to be some gender differences in the approach taken to business values.

These themes will now be considered in the light of the findings obtained during the student focus group interviews, scenarios and teacher classroom observations, in relation to Class Two at Smiths College.

1.1. Profit

The first theme to emerge from the quantitative research and the teacher interviews was the dominance of the objective of profitability (a value which is structural or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism). This first came to light when the students in Class Two were asked the following questions: *'What do you think are the main objectives of businesses?'* and *'List as many business objectives as you can?'* As previously mentioned, profit can be classified as both a business objective and a business value.

During the first phase of the study 12 of the 14 students (86%) in Class Two considered profitability to be one of the main objectives of businesses, during Phase Three (November 2000) half of the students (5 students) classified profitability to be the most important business objective and during the final phase of the study (May 2001) three out of eight of the students classified profitability to be the most important business objective (the most popular response was survival – 4 of the students mentioned this).

This finding is slightly surprising as 'survival' has not focussed as a major 'theme' within this research; it could be suggested that the students in this class may recently have been taught about survival and as a consequence their focus has switched from profitability to survival but that nevertheless entailed making a profit or the pursuit of the objective of profit maximisation. However, the theme of profit was stronger in the focus groups.

The transcripts below relate to two focus group sessions held with Focus Group B; the first transcript relates to a session held during the third phase of the research, November 2000 and the second one relates to a focus group session that took place during the final phase of the study, May 2001.

Focus Group B – Phase Three, 10th November 2000 – The group comprises four male students (note that bold text refers to the questions being asked).

'What are business objectives?'

'What a business tries to do...maximum profit.' (Paul)

'Income, market share.' (Simon)

'Survive.' (Andrew)

'Good Image.' (Simon)

'Prestige.' (Andrew)

'Good service and customer values.' (Jon)

'Which business objective is most important?'

'Depends what stage the business is in, if it's just started up its to survive if it's a big business like Virgin then its profits and market share.' (Andrew)

'Why do you think it is most important?'

'Increase in profit, more control of the market so a better service and more popular than competitors so that you can focus on keeping customers and attracting new ones.' (Simon)

'Once you have a strong market share you are earning money.' (Paul)

'Or lower your prices to make it even better for the customer.' (Andrew)

'So if you lower prices you are making less profit?'

'Yes, but then you could demand more from the supplier and buy in bulk.' (Simon)

'Depends on objectives of... a shop like Harrods would not lower prices because they want to be seen as the best and prestige. Customers will pay a high price to say its from Harrods – but if it's a High Street Shop competing against other High Street Shops e.g. PC World or Tandy then they will compete on price.' (Andrew)

'Are market share and profit the same?'

'They are linked – but different.' (Simon)

'Which is most important?'

'Market share – depends on the market for example Harrods make a lot of profit with a small market share.' (Andrew)

'They are both important but it depends on the type of business.' (Jon)

'So, with small businesses survival is still the most important business objective?'

'You need to make sure you survive. ' (Paul)

'Need to survive to get more. ' (Andrew)

'Once you have established yourself you make more of market share and profit. '
(Simon)

'To break even. ' (Jon)

Focus Group B – Phase Five, 26th April 2001 – The group comprises four male students
(note that the bold text refers to the questions asked).

'List as many business objectives as you can?'

'Survival. ' (Simon)

'Growth. ' (Andrew)

'Prestige. ' (Paul)

'Big return on investment. ' (Jon)

'Which objective is the most important?'

'Short term Survival and long term Profitability. ' (Simon)

'Why is survival important in the short run?'

'If you do not have survive you have nothing to base your business on. ' (Andrew)

'Why do you think profit is important?'

'Profitability, because it is nice. ' (Paul)

'You have money to invest.' (Andrew)

'A businesses success is measured by its size and it grows through making more profit.' (Simon).

It is evident from the transcripts above, that during the third phase of the research the students were more 'open' to discussion and debated whether or not profit or market share were the most important business objectives. It was interesting to note that several comments made by the members of the group indicated that they perceived there to be an association between market share and profitability, for example, when Paul commented as follows:

'Once you have a strong market share you are earning money' (Paul)

and when Andrew stated that:

Market share – depends on the market for example Harrods make a lot of profit with a small market share.' (Andrew)

What is interesting here is that these comments go beyond a strong focus on profitability to consider market share and as the comment regarding Harrods shows with some sophistication. The comments on market share reflect a concern that would be applicable under the Japanese form of capitalism.

However, during the final phase of the focus group research, April 2001, when Simon was considering the nature of business values there seemed to be a return to a much stronger commitment to profitability:

'What are business values?'

'A business could value its employees and its relationship with them, public image, being ethical, being ethical up to a certain point.' (Simon)

'Up to what point?'

'To the point of it infringing upon profitability, they will not sacrifice profitability, the business will come first. They will only spend a certain amount of money on ethics, they will not spend all of their money on ethics.' (Simon)

The transcripts reveal a certain level of 'sophistication' in the reasoning used by the students when debating which business objective is most important, as they consider the issue from the perspective of the size of the business and also the length of time that it has been trading; concluding that both survival and profitability are the most important business objectives. However, while they could see that profit and market share could be seen as both significant, the focus on profit was also far stronger when they considered the dilemmas relating to BJ Pharmaceutical Plc.

Financial considerations dominated the responses provided by the students when considering the Business Scenarios during the second (June/July 2000) and fourth phases (March/April 2001) of the research. The transcription below illustrates how the responses provided by Focus Group B concentrated upon the maximisation of personal financial gain.

Focus Group B, 'B J Pharmaceuticals Plc', Phase Two Research, 4th July 2000 – two male students were present (note that bold text refers to the questions asked).

'Explain the situation that you find yourself in?'

'Take the money and run or stay with the company and wait until they make it and launch it.' (Andrew)

'See how the product, drug, develops and decide which will be most beneficial.' (Simon)

'So whether you sell the shares now or hold onto them.'

'How could you solve this problem?'

'I would sell them, depending on my financial position.' (Simon)

'I would not sell as you would probably make more than £2,000 in the future.' (Andrew)

'If you had £15,000 in the bank would you sell them now?'

'No, I would probably have the chance of making more money if I was not in a risky position financially.' (Andrew)

'I would sell the shares as I need the money - it depends on the type of person you are and your financial position.' (Simon)

'I would probably not sell as in the end you would probably make a lot more than two thousand pounds, if it is the "wonder drug" they promised.' (Andrew)

'Probably not, as I could make more money on them in the future, or push the American Company and get more money from them, as if they want it enough you could push them for it.' (Simon)

'Are there any other ways that you might solve this problem?'

'You could sell half your shares and not all of them and then you have some money and you also have money in the shares just in case you get more money in the future.' (Simon)

'So that the American firm would not own all of the company – so that your friends and you would still have the controlling interest and then you could say, who you supply and what you would charge for the drug – but you would still have the financial backing of the large American Company.' (Andrew)

'Could you have solved the problem by not selling at all? – What would be the benefits of this?'

'You would keep your shares in the company and you would get more money in the future if the company were successful – but there is the risk with not selling at all as you are basing it on the "prevention" of the drug.' (Simon)

‘What about not selling the shares, to prevent the American Company from charging a high price for the drug?’

‘It is probably better for the people who need the drug because they will be more assessable to more people – but you would not have got as much money out of it.’ (Andrew)

‘With this in mind would you still have sold your shares?’

‘I would probably have sold half – the other half I would keep in the company and hope that they went up – I would keep them in there for a long time due to fluctuations in the market.’ (Simon)

‘You could leave all of the money in the company for ten years and then other companies would get the recipe for the drug so they will be competing and the price would come down.’ (Andrew)

‘How would you solve this problem?’

‘Sell half of the shares and keep the other half in there.’ (Andrew)

‘What are the consequences of doing this?’

‘The American company would end up owning a bit of the company.’ (Andrew)

‘It might have an adverse affect as the American company may not want to own it if it cannot have the whole company.’ (Simon)

‘Are there any other ways of solving this problem?’

‘You could talk to your friends who own the company and see what they think if it would be wise to let the American company have an interest in it and if they say no – you would go along with this.’ (Andrew)

It is suggested that the students are endorsing values that are structural to Anglo-American capitalism, due to the importance that they are placing upon the financial return of their investment. For example, when Andrew states that:

‘I would not sell as you would probably make more than £2,000 in the future.’

and Simon:

‘I would probably have sold half – the other half I would keep in the company and hope that they went up – I would keep them in there for a long time due to fluctuations in the market.’ (Simon)

Due to the absence of any female students during this focus group session gender comparisons could not be made; this raises the question as to whether or not female students would have placed as much significance upon the financial return of the investment as the male students.

1.2. Anti-business and industry sentiments?

One of the first questions posed to the students during the first phase of the quantitative research, February 2000, was: *‘Why did you decide to study Business Studies?’* It was interesting to note that more than sixty percent of the students in Class Two explained that they had decided to study the subject as they thought that it would help them with their future careers (two students were studying the subject as they desired to run their own business); whereas only twenty percent of the students had decided to study the subject as they were interested in.

However, when the findings obtained from the quantitative research conducted with Class Two were compared with the findings obtained from Focus Group B, the main difference that was identified, was that during the final phase it emerged that a third more of the students participating in the study wanted to go to University than had

indicated during the quantitative research (this was also found to be the situation with Class One and Focus Group A, see Chapter Five for more detail).

As with Class One, evidence of the scepticism possessed by the members of Class Two was observed during the focus group research. For example, during the final phase of the study (this question was not asked during the third phase as it was felt that the students knowledge base would not be wide enough to answer the question), May 2001, Andrew, Simon and Jon questioned the motivation behind the creation of Value Statements; this lack of 'trust' is illustrated in the transcription of the focus group session detailed below:

Phase Five Research, 26th May 2001 – Focus Group B – The focus group comprises four male students (Note bold text refers to the questions asked.).

'Why do firms produce and have Value Statements?'

'So that people do not think that they are in it just to make as much money as they can.' (Andrew)

'To make the Government benefit, if the Government thinks their attitude is right and responsible and can get on with things, they will need less controlling and guidance and the government will not interfere as much.' (Simon)

'Also due to public image to say that our employees are the best and that we value them.' (Jon)

'Do you feel that the businesses believe in these, 'values?'

'Yes, some would obviously believe in them but it is like we best do that, as it looks good, it is a policy and expected rather than them wanting to do it.' (Simon).

Andrew's comment below reflects the concern that businesses may just be in it 'for the money' i.e. solely to make profit;

'So that people do not think that they are in it just to make as much money as they can.'

However, a different picture was painted when Andrew was responding to the business scenarios (which were designed to test for espoused values), as he appears to be expressing the values structural to Anglo-American capitalism.

It is important to point out that during the focus group sessions held with Focus Group B, none of the students present expressed any positive comments in relation to businesses; it is also significant to note that when members of the focus group expressed negative views, as in the transcription above, their peers did not contradict them. This may be due to the group dynamics given these questions or it may be that they are not fully committed to business. This may suggest that the 60 per cent of Class Two primarily decided to study Business Studies at 'A' level for instrumental purposes in their search for future employment. However, it should be noted that despite the scepticism over the role of value statements, when the BJ Pharmaceutical scenario was considered the focus was on making money rather than on the ethical issues: an apparent endorsement of the values intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism. Here it is unclear as to the weight the students placed on what appears to be a rather sceptical view of the role of value statements.

1.3. What values were the teachers articulating?

When considering the nature of the values that the teachers taking Class Two are communicating, the typology of values that was formulated in section 6.2 of Chapter One in this thesis will be used as a point of reference. The typology is as follows: (i) where teachers would raise questions of ethics in relation to business practices for the students to consider (ii) where value issues which could have been raised were not. The distinction between (i) and (ii) may be that while there may be ethical concerns about particular business practices there is silence or a tacit assumption that for example the capitalist system or a market approach to the public sector was taken as a given. (iii) where a teacher states her/his own value preferences but does not seek to

convince others (iv) where there was a direct attempt at transmitting or inculcating values (v) where values are embedded in routine practices such as those relating to classroom management which may be form of discipline which readies students for the workforce, what will be referred to as work socialisation values.

It was evident from Chapter Five of this thesis that the nature of the values communicated by Hugo and Georgiana during their lessons varied slightly; for example, Hugo communicated work socialisation values and ethical values i.e. is it right to give Doctors a larger pay increase each year in comparison to nurses? Whereas Georgiana communicated work socialisation values and she communicated specific views relating to the values that she stated that she classified as being important during her one-to-one interview, for example values relating to unethical trading practices, social and people issues i.e. the 'plight' of farmers outside of Europe or the 'exploitation' of employees by paying them low wages.

The following lesson observations that were conducted when Hugo and Georgiana were teaching Class Two exemplify some of the comments made above, for example they illustrate the communication of work socialisation values, 'missed' value communication i.e. Hugo could have informed the class that a reason for diversifying is to maintain or increase profitability (see Hugo's lesson observation of the 22nd November 2000) and Georgiana is observed communicating specific views relating to the values that she classified as being important during her one-to-one interview i.e. social and people issues (see her lesson observation of the 30th June 2000).

Hugo's lesson observation – 13th June 2000.

Lesson objectives - This lesson comprised a revision session on management and financial accounting.

Lesson content – The lesson commenced with a question and answer session. Hugo asked the class a series of short questions relating to different sources of finance, management accounting, overheads, break-even analysis and variance analysis; the students responded by shouting out the answers. For example, the students were asked

what the margin of safety was in break-even analysis and what the disadvantages of break-even analysis were.

The topic of break-even analysis was revised. Hugo explained the concept using diagrams on the white board. He clarified whether or not the students had understood his explanation. None of the students present indicated that they had not understood.

The students were then handed out a past examination question relating to break-even analysis to complete. The students worked in virtual silence completing this activity whilst Hugo walked around the classroom helping them, if any of the students required help they would put their hands up.

It can be seen from the transcript of Hugo's lesson above, that although he did not communicate work socialisation values, there was a general expectation on his part and that of the students when completing their set activity or assignment, that they were not 'permitted' to converse with their peers but should work in silence.

The lesson observation detailed below is interesting, as in addition to illustrating Hugo's desire for the students to 'work in silence' it also provides an example of a situation in which we might have expected some discussion or reference to profitability but he remained 'silent' on this point, yet did he and the students simply take the question of profitability as given?

Hugo's lesson observation – 22nd November 2000

Lesson objectives – *For the students to learn about and understand contingency planning.*

Lesson content – *Hugo commenced the lesson by explaining to the students that this subject related to their examination paper on Business Objectives and Strategies.*

Hugo placed an OHT of the Ansoff Matrix onto the white board – the students were asked to copy down the matrix, which they did in virtual silence.

Hugo described the matrix to the class; he used different coloured pens to illustrate the difference between products and markets. He explained how Johnson's, who once only produced talcum powder, had expanded and entered new markets using the Matrix.

The students were asked by Hugo to think of two products that could be placed within each of the boxes on their Matrix. The students carried out this task, whilst completing it, three students who were sat next to each other, held a conversation relating to different bars of chocolate, which they considered not to have been successful when launched onto the market.

Hugo asked the students for examples of the products that they had placed on their diagrams – he transferred these examples to his Matrix on the white board.

Hugo explained to the class that large companies need to develop new products and that they achieve this objective through diversification – he explained that diversification is used as a 'safety net' in case the existing products being produced by business start to lose sales.

The class were then handed out a revision question relating to Operations Management to complete. Hugo walked around the classroom helping the students complete the question.

The lesson observation below shows Georgiana communicating work socialisation values, for example when she asks the students to 'sit down' and 'be quiet' and also illustrates her desire to communicate specific views relating to the values that she classified as being important during her one-to-one interview: for example, values relating to, social and people issues when emphasising the advantages of a democratic organisational structure for shop floor workers.

Georgiana's lesson observed – 30th June 2000

Lesson objective – For the students to understand the concept of delegation within a business and how a centralised or decentralised organisational structure affects delegation within a business organisation.

Lesson content – Georgiana asked the students to divide their page into four boxes and at the top of each one to place the name of a type of organisational structure i.e. Matrix, Divisional, Democratic and Autocratic. Georgiana explained to the class how each of the structures operated and provided the students with a series of notes relating to the structures. She explained (with much conviction and emphasis) to the students that shop floor workers had the opportunity to make decisions when business organisations possessed a democratic structure. During this explanation four students walked into the lesson late, Georgiana asked them to 'sit down' and to 'be quiet'.

The students were placed into four groups, this related to the table that they were sat on; and asked to think of three advantages and three disadvantages of each of the structures and to place this into the table that they had drawn.

Georgiana asked each of the groups for examples of the advantages and disadvantages that they had placed on their pieces of paper. Whilst she was doing this she asked some of the students to stop talking as, 'I have a lot of work to get through with you this afternoon.'

The students were then provided with a series of questions relating to organisational structures, the students worked on this activity for the remainder of the lesson.

Given the strength of her views on democratic decision-making it is interesting that this aspect of her teaching, also does not come through in the focus groups or when considering the scenarios.

The values that Nick communicates when teaching Class Two will now be considered with reference to his classroom observation. He also is teaching about organisational structures but Nick does not discuss the kinds of issues raised by Georgiana at all,

especially when he could have taken the opportunity in discussing ‘the span of control’ and ‘chain of command’.

Nick’s lesson observation, held on the 19th June 2000

Lesson objectives - The objective of Nick’s lesson was to introduce the topic of the internal organisation structure of businesses, using examples from the business world, to the class.

Lesson content - The students were all given a copy of Centre Parcs Organisational Chart – they were asked to think about what they could tell about the organisation from the structure chart.

A discussion took place, between Nick and the students, relating to Centre Parc’s structure chart - Nick placed a series of notes onto the White Board that related to the discussion held.

Nick then placed some notes on the White Board about the function of Organisational Charts and the students took notes from this.

The class were asked to try and construct their own Organisational Chart relating to their old school, Smith’s College or their part time job (they were given ten minutes in order to complete this task).

Nick discussed, with the students, the problems that they had encountered trying to complete their Organisational Charts.

Nick provided the students with some notes on Span of Control and Chain of Command.

The class discussed the development of Smith’s College’s Organisational Chart – Nick said that this would be developed further during the next lesson that he has with them.

The three students specifically being observed all listened when Nick was talking and they carried out the set activities.

What is interesting, when these observations are compared, is how little uniformity there is in the teachers' views as regards values, except that they all communicated values related to work socialisation which it could be argued, prepare students for employment in hierarchical work organisations (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). However, there is also a question that can be raised about how effective such forms of socialisation are in that on the one hand students appear to be willing to conform to the values of the business they will work for while at the same time not wanting to work for businesses where the values are in conflict with their own, see the subsequent discussion.

The question therefore arises as to the source of the students' views relating to the association of profitability with the objectives held by businesses. Although Nick, Georgiana and Hugo inferred during their one-to-one interviews that they considered profit to be a business value, no evidence has emerged from their classroom observations to suggest that they are communicating this message; this question will be addressed in more detail in section 1.4. of this chapter. What role if any did the students' part-time jobs have in imparting knowledge of business values?

1.4. The relationship between the students' knowledge of business values and their part-time jobs.

The third theme to emerge during the student quantitative research indicated an association between the student's part-time jobs and their knowledge of business values. For example, six out of the eight students in Class Two indicated during the quantitative research (May 2001) that they felt that business values had been taught to some degree during their lessons. If this finding can be substantiated in other areas of the research i.e. the focus group research then it could be argued that it is highly significant as it implies that they believe that their teachers are communicating or transmitting business values.

However, when the students were asked for examples of business values (during the quantitative research) they were unable to do so. This finding was highly contradictory, as when the students had been asked to list as many business values as they could (quantitative research), none of the students had mentioned business ethics, instead they had mentioned values such as, 'customers', 'quality' or 'health and safety'.

This finding, which was initially apparent in the quantitative research findings, might imply that the students are drawing a distinction between the values communicated by their teachers, for example, business ethics and those, which they perceive or classify as business values, for example, 'customers'. In order to clarify this supposition the findings obtained during the student focus group research and teacher research will be considered.

The evidence obtained during the Student Focus Group Research helps clarify the data obtained during the quantitative research, in terms of both the transmission/non-transmission of values during the student's Business Studies lessons and the presence of a relationship between the student's knowledge of business values and having a part-time job. For example, the transcription below indicates that the students believe that business values are being communicated, to some degree, during their lessons and it also indicates that the students in Class Two distinguish between the business ethics that their teachers are communicating during their lessons and the business values which they are 'learning' about whilst conducting their part-time jobs.

Focus Group B – Phase Three, 10th November 2000, group comprised four male students (note that bold text refers to the questions asked)

'What business values are taught on your course?'

'None yet.' (Simon)

'Actually we have done quality.' (Jon)

'If you have not been taught about business values, how did you know about them?'

'Background knowledge.' (Andrew)

'Where from?'

'GCSE.' (Andrew)

'Just thought of them.' (Simon)

'Have they been developed on the course?'

'No.' (Paul)

'Some would have come from work – like experience at work.' (Andrew)

'Have you been taught about customer service on the course?'

'Not as such.' (Simon)

'It's all a blank.' (Paul)

Focus Group B – Phase Five, 26th April 2001 - group comprised four male students (note that bold text refers to the question asked)

'Are business values taught on your 'A' level course?'

'Not directly, as in talking about business values.' (Simon)

'They have been taught from other sections, people, leadership, communications and stuff.' (Jon)

'Not directly.' (Paul)

'What business values have you been taught about?'

(The members of the group are very slow to respond)

'Ethics.' (Simon)

'Morals.' (Andrew)

'Employees.' (Jon)

'Have you heard about business values from elsewhere?'

'Part-time job...you should value the customer because at the end of the day they are the reason you are there.' (Simon)

'The football stitching in India.' (Andrew)

'Part-time jobs.' (Jon)

'Newspapers.' (Paul)

'Which source – the 'A' level Course, Newspapers or Part-time job has been most influential in getting business values through to you?'

'Job as you are dealing with it and seeing it in action, it's a lot more real.' (Andrew)

'A lot are common sense.' (Simon)

It is clear that the students do believe that business values have been taught to them but perhaps, as Paul indicates, not directly. Certainly the classroom observations undertaken, except in Georgiana's lessons in Class One and Class Two (see Section 1.3 above) did not show that business values were being taught directly.

One of the issues raised in the study of Class One was that there appeared to be a conflict between students' personal values and those espoused and practised by businesses. Under those circumstances how did students address the tension between the two?

1.5. Conforming to the values possessed by business organisations

During the fifth phase (May 2001) of the quantitative student research the respondents were posed the question: *'When you commence your first full-time job, will you abide by the 'business values' held by your employer?'* This questions was primarily put to the students in order to assess the level of conviction that they felt towards the nature of the values held by business organisations and to see if they would sacrifice their own personal values in favour of those held by their employer – it also explores the issue of the students 'split morality' i.e. the students possessing their own personal ethics and the 'structural' ethics that are found within business organisations.

The data (see Table 5.2 over) revealed that some students in Class Two were more sceptical about 'towing the party line' in comparison to some of the other classes taking part in this study.

Table 5.2: *'When you commence your first full-time job, will you abide by the business values held by your employer?'*

Class Two – Phase Five – May 2001 – eight respondents.
Yes, it is the nature of the company so you would abide by it.
Yes, otherwise you would not be part of a team that is what they are there for.
Yes, if they are brought up they are obviously important.
It depends on the requirements and values that the organisation has and the rate of pay.
Yes, in order to meet business standards, for example telephone manners.
Yes, if I agreed with them I would abide by them unless I had a major disagreement.
It depends on what they are and whether I feel they are right.
It depends on the pay for the job and how stupid the values are.
Possibly – it depends on what they are and whether I feel they are right.

Here four thought they should abide by the values two thought it conditional on pay and three thought it was conditional on whether they considered them the 'right' values. The evidence obtained during the focus group session held with Class Two supported these findings.

Focus Group B – Phase Five, 26th April 2001, the group comprised four male students (note that bold text refers to the questions asked)

‘When you commence your first full time job, will you abide by the business values of the organisation that you are working for?’

‘It depends how much money I am on.’ (Simon)

‘Yes.’ (Paul)

‘It also depends on if you believe in them, if you do not believe in them it will be hard to follow them.’ (Simon)

Here there is an element of conditionality for Simon but the issue of how much they were earning also came into the picture, suggesting that their personal values could, perhaps, be bought.

1.6. Gender

One of the problems with the gender aspect of this research was that the first time the ‘Mary’ scenario was considered only three boys; Simon, Andrew and Paul were present. Subsequently Martha joined them.

It can be seen from the transcript below that the male members of the group adopted a very harsh stance and demonstrated little ‘loyalty’ towards Mary.

Focus Group B, Phase Two, 4th July 2000 – ‘Mary’, the group comprised three male students (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked).

‘What if she said that she could not afford to give up the job – would you tell the Manager then?’

'If she cannot afford to give up the job she should be working – she should not be starting late and leaving early if she cannot afford to give it up.' (Simon)

'There may be somebody else who would want to do the job there, who is prepared to put in the time and effort, it is not fair on the others.' (Andrew)

'So how would you solve the problem?'

'Deduct her pay for every half hour that she is late for work.' (Simon)

'Yeh.' (Paul)

'So you would speak to her first and then you would go to the Manager?'

'If she was not interested in what you were trying to say, then yes I would.' (Andrew)

The argument put forward by Gilligan (1982) that women adopt a 'caring' approach when making moral judgments, can be seen in 'aspects' of the transcription below. For example, at the start of the discussion Martha adopts a surprisingly 'matter of fact' or 'hard' stance when considering Mary's predicament – although this softens towards the end of the discussion when she states that:

'I would give her more than that as if she is having problems at home and stuff, she needs more time to sort it out.' (Martha)

Focus Group B – Phase Four, 28th March 2001 – 'Mary', the group comprised two male students and one female (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked).

'How would you solve this problem?'

'Have a word with her, try to find the real reason why she is not turning up, not the reason that she is trying to "fob" you off with (Andrew).'

'Tell her that it is not fair.' (Martha)

'And it's affecting everyone.' (Simon)

'That everybody is going to have to take home a lower wage, say, depending upon my financial situation, I might say to her if she does not own up to it then I would tell the Boss, as it is not fair to everybody else (Martha).'

'I would not.' (Simon)

'It is giving her chance to own up to her mistakes.' (Martha)

'If she is not enjoying the job she should pack it in and let somebody else who would really want it, do it, it seems a bit daft - I would talk to her and say look if you are not going to sort it out I am going to the Boss and get something done about it.' (Andrew)

'So overall you would talk to her first and then go and see the Boss? – Are there any other ways of solving the problem?'

'Anonymous letter.' (Martha)

'Go straight to the Boss.' (Simon and Andrew)

'A security camera in the Supermarket!!' (Simon)

'Tell other members of the team – or just leave it – or tell her you think it is out of order.' (Martha)

'How would you solve the problem?'

'Have a word with her first.' (Simon)

'If you carry on being friends, tell her it is out of order.' (Martha)

‘How long would you give her to sort herself out?’

‘One week.’ (Andrew)

‘Tops.’ (Simon)

‘I would give her more than that as if she is having problems at home and stuff, she needs more time to sort it out.’ (Martha)

‘She should not be bringing those problems to work, she should sort them out.’ (Andrew)

‘So you would give her more than one week?’ (Martha)

‘Yes, two weeks.’ (Andrew)

‘After two weeks if you still see her – you would tell the team and then the Boss.’ (Simon)

‘If it is affecting your income – you have to look after yourself.’ (Andrew)

Andrew’s final statement, see above, is significant as is consistent with views of Class One (see Chapter Five, Section 1.7 for more detail) i.e. the students (particularly the male students) feel little loyalty towards Mary when their own personal financial well being is being jeopardised.

The ‘caring’ approach adopted by the female respondent was also witnessed in the following transcription, (it is fascinating to observe that Martha conforms to a more caring approach throughout the discussion of this scenario) which relates to the fourth phase of the study (March 2001) when Focus Group B were discussing the dilemma presented in ‘BJ’:

Focus Group B – Phase Four, 28th March 2001 – ‘BJ’, the group comprised two male students and one female (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked).

‘If you had to rank these from most to least important how would you do it?’

‘Loyal to your friends.’ (the most important) (Martha)

‘Long-term profit.’ (Andrew)

‘Ethical obligation.’ (Simon)

‘I would put long-term profit at the end.’ (Martha)

‘You have probably invested the money in the first place to get a good return.’ (Andrew)

‘But when you think about all the people that will suffer if they cannot afford to buy the product or the NHS cannot afford to give it to them, then it is a whole lot more than three grand. If you could give out three grand and cure all the cancer in the world would you do it?’ (Martha)

‘Well, yes!’ (Andrew).

‘Exactly.’ (Martha)

‘It does not say it is going to cure cancer but help cancer sufferers.’ (Simon)

‘But if it is going to ease the pain of cancer suffers, you would wouldn’t you.’ (Martha)

‘The point of putting your money in this little company is to make long term profit and if they find a cure, that is great.’ (Andrew)

Here it seems that with Martha in the discussion Andrew and Simon are prepared to consider the ethical issues, which previously they had not, but they are still much more focussed on the financial returns.

Martha, on the other hand, is seen expressing ethical values when contemplating the ‘suffering’ of those with cancer;

‘But when you think about all the people that will suffer if they cannot afford to buy the product or the NHS cannot afford to give it to them, then it is a whole lot more than three grand. If you could give out three grand and cure all the cancer in the world would you do it?’

and

‘But if it is going to ease the pain of cancer suffers, you would wouldn’t you.’ (Martha)

There appears from these transcripts to be some difference in ethical approach between the two boys and Martha. However, given that we are only referring to three students, very little can be read into these data.

1.7. Gender and the teacher’s approaches to moral judgements

It was apparent when observing the teachers’ lessons with Class Two that Georgiana’s views as to democratic participation differed in comparison to Hugo and Nick (see Section 1.3 above). However, it could be suggested that it is not clear whether this approach to values is distinctively a gender issue; it may just be down to their differing views as to how to teach values or not.

In summary, the students in this class, while focusing on profit in the quantitative research and the BJ Pharmaceutical scenario, or at least this was the case for the two boys, they took a wider role of business values in the focus group with an emphasis on a range of goals and values relating as much to market share as to profit. They also took an ambiguous view of whether they should conform to the values of the business. How then do these findings relate to the students in Smith College Class Three?

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESEARCH FINDINGS - SMITH'S COLLEGE, CLASS THREE

Introduction – Class Three an overview

Class Three is a GNVQ Advanced Business Studies group, the class is taught by Amanda. Amanda has sixteen years teaching experience and during this time she has taught both Home Economics and Business Studies. Two focus groups were taken from Class Three, Focus Group D and Focus Group E; for details of the focus group membership see Tables 6.1 and 6.2 below:

Table 6.1: - Focus Group D member details

Name of Student.	Age.	Student studied Business Studies at GCSE?	Occupation of Parent One.	Occupation of Parent Two.
Tina	17	Yes	Nursing Assistant	Electrician
Terry	18	No	Technician	Supervisor
Robert	16	No	Manager	Technician
Andy	16	No	Manager	Cashier

It can be seen from Table 6.1 above that Focus Group D comprised a predominantly male group and there was a slight difference in the age range of its members (it spans two years). Half of the students in the focus group have studied Business Studies at GCSE and the students come from similar socio-economic backgrounds in Focus Group D and more

varied backgrounds in Focus Group E. The details of the latter are given below.

Table 6.2: - Focus Group E member details

Name of Student.	Age	Student studied Business Studies at GCSE?	Occupation of Parent One.	Occupation of Parent Two.
James	17	Yes	Graphic Designer	Admin/Clerical
Tessa	16	No	Manager	Supervisor
Anne	16	Yes	Retired	Retired
Debs	16	No	Voluntary Work	Deceased

It can be seen from Table 6.2 above that Focus Group E comprised a predominantly female membership; the students are of a similar age; half of them have studied Business Studies at GCSE and there is some variation in the occupations of their parents.

1. Themes arising from the Student Research

As in previous chapters, the analysis will be conducted according to the five themes that have been identified.

1.1. Profit

The first significant theme to emerge during the quantitative research and the teacher interviews related to the dominance of the objective of profitability. As mentioned in Chapters Five and Six, this theme first materialised during the initial research phase (in February 2000) when the students were asked the following questions: *‘What do you think are the main objectives of businesses?’* and *‘List as many business objectives as you can?’*

When responding to the question, *'What do you think are the main objectives of businesses?'* during the first phase of the study (February 2000) half of the students in Class Three classified profitability to be a 'main' business objective, during the third phase 82% (nine students) of the class considered it to be the most important business objective and during the final phase of the study (Phase Five), 60% (six students) classified it as the most important business objective. It is also interesting to note that during Phase Three (November 2000) all of the students in Class Three (ten students) classified profitability as a business objective and in the final phase of the research (May 2001) only one member of the group did not consider profitability to be a business objective.

The following statements made by members of Class Three during the final phase of the quantitative research, when the students were asked a more 'open' question i.e. *Which objective that you mentioned above would you consider to be most important?* (May 2001), exemplify the views of the class that profitability is the dominant business objective: It was possible to identify these students as although the names of the respondents had not been sought during the first phase of the study they were asked for during Phases Three and Five.

'Profit is the most important business objective otherwise there is no point operating the business.' (Terry)

'..Because without it you cannot survive.' (Jamie)

'Profit, but to get profit you need customer service – because the point of a business is to make money.' (Debs)

'If the business is not making a profit they will not be successful.' (Diana)

'Customers requirements because if you don't then you wont make a profit.' (Nellie)
'If the company is not making a profit then it can't put money into making the

customer satisfied. '(Tessa)

'Without customer satisfaction the business cannot make a profit. '(Tina)

'In order to survive the business must make a profit. '(Sammy)

Although, these statements indicate that they associate 'other' values with making a profit or profitability i.e. customer requirements or customer satisfaction, these 'other' values appear instrumental in the achievement of profitability i.e. they are values which underlie or are associated with profitability, rather than being values which are structural to other forms of capitalism i.e. Japanese capitalism. Arguably, under the Japanese form of capitalism the students would have framed the issue of profit differently where mention would have been made of other stakeholders such as suppliers, and workers, as well as customers. For example, had the employees of the business or its customers dominated Terry's thought process or decision making, he would have considered their well being rather than stating;

'Profit is the most important business objective otherwise there is no point operating the business. '(Terry)

and Debs would have considered there to have been other 'points' to running a business, for example, providing employment opportunities, rather than stating that;

'Profit, but to get profit you need customer service – because the point of a business is to make money. '(Debs)

As previously mentioned, this finding is not surprising given the suggestion in Chapter One that profitability can be classified as both an objective and a 'value' in its own right; if it is being regarded as an 'objective' then other 'values' such as customer service may underlie it. This view is highlighted in the following comment made by Andy during the

final focus group session, in May 2001:

'Many businesses set out to make a profit but they will not make a profit unless they have sub-objectives around it.' (Andy)

Detailed below are transcripts taken during focus group sessions held with Focus Groups D and E during the fifth phase of the study (May 2001), they are used to support the findings described above.

Focus Group D – Phase Five, 9th May 2001, the group comprised three male students and one female (note that bold text refers to the questions asked).

'Which do you believe is the most important business objective?'

'Customers.' (Tina)

'Profit.' (Terry)

'If you do not have customer satisfaction you do not have profit.' (Tina)

'If you do not make a profit you cannot operate a business.' (Terry)

'Without customers there is no business.' (Andy)

'What is the ultimate objective of a business?'

'To sell your goods and services and generate a profit.' (Andy)

'Can you say that your ultimate objective then is to make a profit?'

'Many businesses set out to make a profit but they will not make a profit unless they

have sub-objectives around it. ' (Andy)

Focus Group E, Phase Five 9th May 2001, the group comprised two female students (note that bold text refers to question asked).

'What are business objectives?'

'Something that the company wants to achieve, it is like an aim, something that they aim to achieve. ' (Anne)

'Examples are customer satisfaction to make a profit – that sort of thing. ' (Tessa)

'Which one do you feel is most important?'

'To have customer satisfaction. ' (Tessa)

'I used to think it was to make a profit but you cannot make a profit if your customer is not satisfied and not buying - it does help to make a profit though. ' (Anne)

'Every Business sets out to make a profit but they need to provide a good service and quality goods in order to make a profit. ' (Tessa)

'Why do people go into business?'

'They aim to make a profit otherwise there is no point – but they have to make you happy otherwise you are not going to buy it, if we are not happy with something we will take it back and want a refund – so you have to make sure that it is a good quality of goods. ' (Tessa)

It can be seen from the transcript above, that although the members of Focus Group E

considered profitability to be the most important business objective (a value which is structural to Anglo-American capitalism), Tessa emphasised the importance of the quality of goods and service in order to keep the customers happy. However, when reviewing the comments made by Tessa as a whole it is apparent that she considers these values (the quality of goods and customers) to underlie or be instrumental in the achievement of profitability within the context of Anglo-American capitalism; for example, she stated the following which is a generalisation and would not be applicable to ‘every business’ operating within the context of Japanese or German capitalism;

‘Every Business sets out to make a profit but they need to provide a good service and quality goods in order to make a profit.’

A slightly different picture was painted during the business scenario research held with Focus Groups D and E during both the second (February 2000) and fourth (March 2001) phases of the study. This is because when the members of the groups were considering the ‘B J Pharmaceuticals Ltd’ scenario the students own personal financial gain was paramount but they did refer to non-financial considerations in order to resolve the dilemma. The following statement made by Robert (Focus Group_D, Phase Two, July 2000 – ‘BJ’) illustrates this point and represents the views of the other members of the Focus Group:

‘I would not sell to the Americans because they have stolen everything else. Also if in the future you do your bit for the NHS you may get cancer and if the drug is not available you may not benefit from it.’ (Robert)

These comments from Robert show him to be anti-American but it also demonstrates an enlightened self-interest. It can be seen from the transcript below, which exemplifies the other focus group sessions held with both Focus Group D and E during the second (July 2000) and fourth phases (March 2001) of this research when considering the ‘BJ’ Scenario, that personal financial gain was important to the members of the focus groups (this finding

was similar to that of the other focus groups participating in this research with the exception of Focus Group A).

Focus Group D, Phase Two, 6th July 2000 – ‘B J Pharmaceuticals Plc’, the group comprised three male students and one female.

‘What situation do you find yourself in here/what is the problem?’

‘You do not want to cheat the NHS whilst you want to do well for yourself investment wise.’ (Robert)

‘You do not want your friends to go into the American Business – as they will not have very much control of it.’ (Tina)

‘They are creating a new wonder drug, which helps cancer suffers – cancer is quite a big illness in the UK – so a high percentage of the population in the UK will want to use this drug. They are coming in with an aggressive takeover bid of £3000 and you have £1,000 investment the shares will go more than three fold so if you keep your money in there you will make more than that and you will be helping your friends as the same time.’ (Andy)

‘It will be better off for them not to accept the money.’ (Tina)

‘So without a shadow of a doubt do not take the money as it is silly.’ (Andy)

‘I think that you should keep your investment there as £3000 is a bit of a small offer and in the future it will be worth double that.’ (Terry)

‘With having the smart technical people in BJ the chance of further development is immense – they may take the wonder drug further and you will make more money in the future as the share price will increase.’ (Andy)

‘I would also hold onto the shares, as if the American firm takes over, they will cut wages

and people may get the sack. '(Terry)

'So you would hold onto the shares for monetary reasons?'

'Yes (all).'

'It's not just money.... '(Tina)

'What are the problems with holding onto the shares?'

'If somebody comes out with a better drug, you have lost all of your money.

You will not make much on it. '(Robert)

'Nothing lost nothing gained - I mean you started off with £1,000 if the company does well you will get more but if you stick with your friends and with the investment if they have created this new wonder drug then the money is there automatically. '(Andy)

'What is the best solution to this?'

'Turn down the offer straight away. '(Terry)

'Or you could sell your recipe for the drug and get the money for it now – if you sold the rights you could get a lot of money for it. '(Robert)

'You would get the money but you may get less money than in the future. '(Andy)

'In ten years time anything could happen. '(Robert)

'Overall best solution is to keep the money in the company. '(Andy)

‘What are the consequences of keeping your money in the company?’

‘You may lose it’. (Tina)

‘You could lose out on two thousand pounds.’ (Andy)

‘The company may go bust - your friends may not stay your friends for that long.’ (Tina)

‘You could come out the better, which is a higher possibility if the company has just developed a new wonder drug, they must have some intelligence and to improve that will not take much so surely you will keep the money in there and the investment will grow. With people wanting to take over with the £3000 bid it also shows that external people are thinking hold on a minute we want that company as that company is doing well – as the company that is buying it is hoping to make a profit you should make that profit if you hold onto it.’ (Andy)

The ability of the students in focus group D and E to consider both the financial and non-financial implications of the ‘BJ’ dilemma was highlighted in the following statements made by Anne, a member of Focus Group E, during the fourth phase of the research in March 2001, thirteen months into the study (see Section One of this chapter which contains a transcription of this focus group session):

‘Also they need to consider the reputation of the firm and that if they do not let the NHS have the drugs people with cancer will not be able to be treated for it.’ (Anne)

‘You will make money in ten years, you are helping people who will not be able to afford to go private and they will be relatively cheap so that everybody who has cancer will be able to afford them.’ (Anne)

It can be argued that these statements made by Anne indicate that she is able to distinguish between her own personal ethics and those of the business or system, as she is balancing

her own personal ethics i.e. trying to help cancer sufferers against the financial or business implications of the decision that she makes.

Two points arise from this discussion. It is clear that the students are wrestling with the dilemma in ways which suggest in the case of Andy, Terry and Robert enlightened self interest mixed in Robert's case with a some consideration of direct self-interest, while in Anne's case, she seems to be more concerned with the access patients will have to the drug. Her position is summed up as follows:

'You will make money in ten years, you are helping people who will not be able to afford to go private and they will be relatively cheap so that everybody who has cancer will be able to afford them.' (Anne)

This evidence suggests that there may be a gender difference because Anne clearly takes a caring view of the implications of a take-over. However, this dilemma shows that while the students see profitability as the dominant business objective when asked directly but through the consideration of the dilemma they are prepared to consider other factors. These may be related to enlightened self-interest but they are also concerned with jobs losses (Terry) and with caring about cancer patients (e.g. Anne). However, it is also relevant to note that their account of profit as the main business objective is framed by values such as customer care as an aid to profitability, rather than to for example other stakeholders such as workers in the German or Japanese case or with market share.

The question now arises as to the source of the students belief that profitability is one of the most important business objectives; i.e. have the students attained it via teacher transmission during their Business Studies lessons, through the media, from their parents or has some other factor that has not as yet been identified within this study impacted upon the student's perception of business objectives?

1.2. Anti-business and industry sentiments?

The evidence obtained during this study suggests that the students in Class Three at Smith's College appear to be lacking an intrinsic interest in the subject of Business Studies and are sceptical of some of the practices undertaken by business organisations.

It can be further argued that the members of Class Three did not decide to study Business Studies GNVQ Advanced because they were intrinsically interested in the subject but rather because they felt it would help them obtain future employment. For example, when the students were asked the question, during the first phase of the quantitative research, in February 2000: *'Why did you decide to study Business Studies?'* over 90% of the class said that it would help them with their careers and only 20% of the students said that it was due to an interest in the subject; see Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: - 'Why did you decide to study Business Studies' (Note: students may have provided more than one response). Phase One Research – February 2000.

Reason	Class Three, Phase One Research, February 2000
No of respondents	16
It will help me with my future career/get a job.	15 (94%)
I am interested in the subject.	3 (19%)
I liked it at GCSE or Intermediate GNVQ.	1 (6%)
It is a good qualification/looks good on a C.V	2 (13%)
I did not get good grades at my GCSE's.	1 (6%)
Total no of responses.	22

When the students in Class Three were then asked the question, *'What would you like to do when you leave College?'* during both the third (November 2000) and fifth (May 2001) phases of the quantitative research, see Table 6.4, it was noteworthy that their responses varied in comparison with the other classes taking part in this study. For example, during the fifth phase of the research, 75% of the students in Class One indicated that they wanted to go to University when they had finished their course compared with just 30% of Class

Three: It was also significant to note that none of the students in Class Three expressed a desire to study Business Studies at University or to start up their own business.

It could be argued that the findings described above substantiate the suggestion that the students in Class Three perceive the studying of Business Studies to be instrumental in their search for future employment and hence they are prepared to study Business Studies despite not intrinsically liking the subject. However, this is by no means certain as the finding could equally be accounted for by the nature of the course studied by the different students and their differing expectations.

Table 6.4: 'What would you like to do when you leave College?'

Class and Phase of research	Class Three Phase 3 (Nov.2000)	Class Three Phase 5(May 2001)
Number Of Respondents.	11	10
Work.	5(45%)	6 (60%)
Go To University.	3(27%)	3 (30%)
Work and an Open University Course.	0(0)	1 (10%)
Take a year out and then go to University.	1(9%)	0(0)
Obtain an apprenticeship.	1(9%)	0(0)
To start my own business.	0(0)	0(0)
To study Business Studies at University.	0(0)	0(0)
Do not know yet.	1(9%)	0(0)
Total Number Of Responses.	11	10

The nature of the students' course and their expectations may have a significant bearing on their decision as to whether or not to enter Higher Education at the end of their studies.

This is because GNVQ courses have a more 'vocational' slant to them in comparison to the 'A' level. The 'A' level is more academic in focus and is therefore the more 'traditional' qualification if a student wants to enter Higher Education. So, a Business Studies student may decide to study an 'A' level rather than a GNVQ as they consider an 'A' level to be a more 'suitable' qualification to gain entry into University; whereas if they want to go straight into employment at the end of their college studies they may consider a GNVQ in Business Studies to be a more appropriate qualification due to its vocational slant.

Therefore, the fact that Class One is an 'A' level Class and Class Three is a GNVQ class may account for the fact that a greater number of the students from Class One wish to go to

University in comparison to Class Three.

It appears that the students in Class Three often seemed sceptical about the activities conducted by business organisations. The four focus group sessions, transcribed below, (Focus Groups D and E), illustrate these 'sceptical' and 'uncertain' views. The first of these 'sessions' was held with Focus Group D during the third phase of the research, in November 2000. It can be seen that during this session, Andy and Tina question the integrity of businesses:

Focus Group D, Phase Three Research, 13th November 2000, the group comprised three male students and one female (note that bold text refers to the question asked)

'Which value do you believe is most important to businesses?'

'Customer service.' (Andy)

'As you need happy customers for the company to make a profit.' (Tina)

'Could your ultimate value be profit?'

'A good point but as customers want to know what the values of the company are, if you stated to the customers that you were only out to make a profit, it would deter the customer. The values of the customer are consumer related issues; it could be an inner related issue not external. If Tesco set out that their only value is to make profit the customers would think we are not the most important people, they only care about the money that we are giving to them.' (Andy)

'Do firms care about customers or just want to make profit?'

'Everything comes down to revenue at the end of the day, if it is a profit-making

organisation. The company hide this within their values.' (Andy)

Further evidence, is contained within the transcription below, to suggest that Focus Group D do not 'trust' businesses, although the reasons for this vary as can be seen from Andy's responses. It is interesting to note that this lack of 'trust' was also expressed by the focus groups taken from Classes One and Two – see Chapters Five and Six for more detail.

Focus Group D, Phase Five Research (9th May 2001)– two male members and one female member (note that bold text refers to questions asked.)

'Why do you think business have values and create Value Statements?'

'So that they can live up to their expectations, customers can comment on whether or not they have lived up to their expectations.' (Tina)

'So that the company has a purpose and a goal that they stand for something, it gives them an identity.' (Andy)

'To meet customer demands – to produce a good quality service for example Tesco.' (Terry)

'Do you believe that businesses stick to their values?'

'No.' (Terry)

'So why do you think they have business values?'

'To lure customers in.' (Terry)

'To give customers a false sense of security.' (Andy)

‘So are they just a marketing tool?’

‘To some companies yes, but with others they set their business values so high that they cannot reach them –so it is an impossible task.’ (Andy)

‘Do you think that the businesses believe in their values?’

‘Most companies do but not all of them can achieve the values that they set.’ (Andy)

As well as indicating a lack of trust in the statements produced by business organisations, the members of Focus Group D also expressed unfavourable opinions towards ‘big American companies’ when considering the business scenario ‘B.J. Pharmaceuticals.

Focus Group D, Phase Four – 19th March 2001, ‘B J Pharmaceuticals Plc’, the group comprised three male students (note that bold text refers to the questions asked)

‘Are there any other ways you could solve this problem?’

‘Sell your shares.’ (Terry)

‘What would happen then?’

‘Then the big American company will buy your shares and they might not invest in the business, they will take over the company and take the full credit for the drug that your friends have strived to create. Due to their record with the NHS they would over charge for it, which is even worse. You need instant access to it. They are all about greed and money’. (Andy)

‘Could you have sold part of your shares?’

'No, if you sell part of your shares you will be tempted into selling the rest. Once you have had the 'slice of a pie', you would want the rest of the pie. Also you would have to work with the Americans'. (Robert)

'Do you not like Americans?'

'Not Americans in general, it would be difficult as they are in it for profit'. (Robert)

'Then the big American company will buy your shares and they might not invest in the business, they will take over the company and take the full credit for the drug that your friends have strived to create. Due to their record with the NHS they would over charge for it, which is even worse. You need instant access to it. They are all about greed and money'. (Andy)

It can be seen that, in contrast, to his previous responses to this dilemma where Andy largely expressed an enlightened self-interest as a way of resolving the dilemma, here he expresses an objection, which is in part ethical, to the form of American capitalism that the American firm represents when he refers to the behaviour of the American business i.e. *'taking the full credit for the drug...'* and when he describes overcharging the NHS as being *'worse'* than taking credit for the development of a drug that they did not *'create'*.

Focus Group E expressed similar opinions about American businesses to that of Focus Group D, when discussing the 'B J Pharmaceuticals Plc' business scenario, during the fourth phase of the research (thirteen months into the research). For example, Anne, who previously had expressed concern for those who may get cancer and who will need the drug referred to this American business as *'nasty'* and *'horrible'*.

Focus Group E, Phase Four Research, 19th March 2001 - 'B J Pharmaceuticals Plc', the group comprised two female students and one male (note that bold text refers to the questions asked.)

'What situation do you find yourself in here'.

*'You have invested some money into a company owned by friends who have created a wonder drug which will be launched in ten years time, but you have been approached by an American firm who have offered you £3,000 for your shares but they are a **nasty** firm and they have a tendency to overcharge people particularly the NHS for their drugs and they stop other companies having them by keeping their prices high.'* (Anne)

'Do you all agree with this?'

'Yes.' (All)

'So how would you solve this problem?'

'I would not sell the shares as I would make more money in ten years time.' (Jamie)

'Also they need to consider the reputation of the firm and that if they do not let the NHS have the drugs people with cancer will not be able to be treated for it.' (Anne)

'Also they are an American Company – you would get a lot more than £3,000 in ten years time as the firm would not have offered you this otherwise.' (Jamie)

'How else could you have solved this problem?'

'Basically there are only two ways – you sell or you do not sell.' (Anne)

'You could negotiate terms with them.' (Jamie)

'I would not, I do not see why they should mess around with the NHS.' (Anne)

'What do you think Tessa?'

'I would not sell.' (Tessa)

'Could you solve the problem by selling half of your shares?'

'No that gives them more of a little hook.' (Anne)

'Why is your way of solving the problem best?'

'In the long run you will not loose out.' (Tessa)

'You will make money in ten years, you are helping people who will not be able to afford to go private and they will be relatively cheap so that everybody who has cancer will be able to afford them.' (Anne)

'What strategies would you use to solve this problem?'

'Keep hold of them and then in ten years when they mature and when they have enough money to release the drugs I might sell them.' (Anne)

'The reason why you think it is the best way is...'

*'You are not giving it to a **horrible** firm who are going to stop people having drugs and you are going to get your money back in the long run anyway, so what is the point in making more money.'* (Anne)

'So how would you solve this problem?'

'I would not sell the shares as I would make more money in ten years time.' (Jamie)

'Also they need to consider the reputation of the firm and that if they do not let the NHS have the drugs people with cancer will not be able to be treated for it.' (Anne)

'Also they are an American Company – you would get a lot more than £3,000 in ten years time as the firm would not have offered you this otherwise.' (Jamie)

These responses are interesting because it suggests that there are limits to the kinds of business practices they consider ethical, although there also appears to be a degree of prejudice as regards American firms.

Although Amanda (who taught Class Three) expressed scepticism at the activities practiced by businesses during her interview (see Chapter Four), she was not witnessed communicating any form of pro or anti-business sentiments during the classroom observations.

1.3. What values were the teachers articulating?

In order to consider the nature of the values being communicated by the teachers taking part in this study the typology of values that could be communicated will be referred to. The typology was described in Chapter Two and can be summarised as follows: firstly, the teachers could raise questions of ethics in relation to businesses practices for the students to consider; secondly, a situation could arise whereby value issues which could have been raised were not; thirdly, a teacher states her/his own value preferences but does not seek to convince others; fourthly, there is a direct attempt at transmitting or inculcating values and finally where values are embedded in routine practices i.e. those relating to classroom management.

It was interesting to note that the classroom observations revealed that Amanda was self-aware in her one-to-one interview about the views and opinions she communicated i.e. the concepts which she considered to be important, for example ‘understanding,’ ‘caring,’ ‘respect’ and ‘listening’ were frequently observed being communicated during her lessons, these values are reflected in all of the economic systems being addressed within this thesis and cannot specifically be classified as structural or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism (see Chapter One for more detail).

The notes taken during the classroom observations of Amanda’s lessons are detailed below. It is apparent that in addition to those values that Amanda said that she tried to transmit, other values were also being communicated during her lessons; for example, values related to work socialisation.

In addition to work socialisation values it is evident in the classroom observation on 8th November 2000, detailed below, that Amanda made a direct attempt to communicate values related to the concept of ‘caring’.

Amanda’s Lesson Observed 8th November 2000.

Lesson Objectives – *For the students to work on their assignments, to provide feedback to the students on their previous assignment and to find out how the students had got on during their recent work experience.*

Lesson Content - *The first five –ten minutes of the lesson was conducted in an informal manner. Amanda talked to students individually about their work experience; she was concerned about how they had managed during their two-week placements. The students entered the room, got out their work and started working on the computers.*

Amanda chased up any students during this initial time period that had been absent in previous lessons and also asked students individually for any work, which was

outstanding.

Amanda formally commenced the lesson by informing the students that the External Verifier would not be coming into the College later on in the week because of the recent floods. Therefore the students would not now need to bring in their files for the Verifier to see. Amanda asked the students about the progress of their UCAS Applications.

The students then continued working on their 2.2 assignments¹⁸ on the computers.

Amanda wandered around the classroom and checked up on the students progress with their 2.2's and then she sat down at her desk at the front of the classroom and formally provided individual students with feedback on their 2.1 assignments; providing details of any corrections which were necessary.

The students specifically being observed listened to Amanda when she was talking to them, they would also talk to Amanda about their work whilst she was providing them with feedback on their progress on their previous assignment. The students worked on their assignments during the lesson and talked to each other about the content of their files.

When Amanda informed the students that the External Verifier would not be coming into the College in the near future all three students listened to what she was saying, They also 'sighed' and appeared upset/annoyed that they had to bring in their files, containing all of their first year work, to find out that it was not required.

When Amanda spoke to the students individually about their 2.1's, providing advice and feedback on its content and how they might improve upon their performance in their next assignment, the students appeared interested in her feedback and would ask questions when appropriate. The other students in the class were working on their work on the computers whilst she was providing this feedback to individual members of the class.

¹⁸ The assignments being completed by the students relates to the Unit or topic of work that they are studying and the specific element within that topic i.e. a '2.2' assignment relates to Unit 2 (Business organisations and systems) element 2 (Investigate administrative systems).

Whilst working on the computers the students would talk to each other about their progress and also ask each other for help and advice. For example two of the students being observed held a discussion on the objectives of Tesco – objectives other than making profit. One of the students mentioned ‘providing value to customers’ and ‘creating values to gain life time customer loyalty’. They did not expand their discussion to explain or ‘delve’ more deeply into what was meant by the term ‘value’ in this context.

The students spoke to Amanda about the activities and task that they had carried out during their work experience fortnight.

It can be suggested that the nature of the values being communicated by Amanda, during the lesson described above, relate to work socialisation and the concept of ‘caring’. For example, work socialisation values were observed when Amanda ‘chased’ up the students about their poor attendance, informing them that she was, ‘*not happy with them missing lessons*’. Amanda also asked the students, if they knew why some of their peers were not present. When a student turned up late, Amanda pointed out to him that he had ‘*missed forty minutes of the lesson*’ – he informed her that he had, ‘*missed the bus*’ as it was not running on time. In response to his explanation, Amanda told him to quickly sort himself out and not to talk to his friends as he was sitting down.

It can be argued that Amanda made a direct attempt to communicate values relating to the concept of ‘caring’ or ‘concern’ during this lesson, on 8th November 2000; she stated during her interview that she considered this ‘value’ to be of importance. This was evident when Amanda expressed concern over the student’s progress with their work. For example, when speaking to the students on an individual basis about their progress, Amanda would sit down next to them, lean towards them and adopt a ‘concerned’ and ‘caring’ attitude. When providing feedback to one student Amanda explained that he had been too critical of his progress within his evaluation. Amanda informed the student that in subsequent pieces of work he needs to be less negative, ‘*completely and utterly negative*’ and more positive about how he could improve his future assignments. It can be argued that the notes taken during the classroom observation of the 22nd

November 2000, which is detailed below, also provides evidence to illustrate that Amanda communicated values relating to work socialisation and the concept of caring during her lessons.

Amanda's lesson observed 22nd November 2000.

Lesson objectives – *For the students to work on their assignments (2.2) and for Amanda to help them with their work on a one-one basis and to monitor their progress.*

Lesson content - *Amanda introduced the lesson; explained to the students what they had to do and then spoke to them individually (Amanda is going into Hospital next week therefore she needs to make sure that the students knew what they would be doing whilst she was away).*

When speaking to the students on a one-to-one basis Amanda mentioned comments that the Internal Verifier had placed upon their work. For example she was explaining to one student what an, 'internal customer' was, as the Internal Verifier did not believe that the student's assignment demonstrated that they had understood this point.

During the lesson Amanda facilitated the completion of a poster by two of the students relating to their work experience.

The student's progress was monitored using a chart on the wall in the classroom. Amanda also left the room for a short period of time in order to find a technician to mend the printer.

There was no formal teaching during the lesson – due to the nature of GNVQ courses.

The three students specifically being observed worked on task, completing their assignments on the computer for the majority of the lesson. They also spoke to Amanda

and listened to what she was saying to them during their one-to-one interviews.

As mentioned above, it is apparent that the nature of the values communicated during this lesson relate to work socialisation and ‘caring’. Examples of Amanda communicating work socialisation values were seen when one of the student’s mobile phone went off during the lesson; the student obviously knew this was not acceptable and apologised and Amanda then asked the student to switch the ‘*phone off*’. Also, students working on the poster, relating to their work experience, (referred to above), were told by Amanda that the activity should have taken them ‘*five minutes to complete and not fifteen*’.

It can be suggested that Amanda made a direct attempt to communicate values relating to ‘caring’. This was observed when she was talking to the students on a one-to-one basis: she sat down next to them, nodded and generally appeared interested in what they were doing and saying.

Amanda’s lesson observed 29th March 2001.

Lesson objectives – *For the students to work on their assignments and to find out how they got on the Unit Test.*

Lesson content – *The lesson commenced with Amanda asking the students how they thought they had go on in the Unit Test which they had carried out the previous day – what they thought of the questions.*

The students were then asked to carry on working on their assignments (5.1) and they were informed that Amanda would provide them with help if they required it.

Amanda walked around the room helping the students if it was necessary.

The three students specifically being observed worked on task throughout the lesson –

Amanda explained to one of the students that several of the questions that had been in the Unit Test had appeared on previous test papers. Amanda helped all three of the students with their projects and spoke to one of them about service industries and the skills required to work in them.

The evidence obtained during this classroom observation also indicates that Amanda is communicating values related to work socialisation. Work socialisation values were observed on the following occasions. At the start of the lesson Amanda asked the students if they knew why several members of the class were not present and she also asked if they knew why several of their colleagues had not turned up for the test the previous day. When one of the students walked in late, who had also not been present for the test, Amanda explained to him that if he did not pass the test the next time around he would ‘fail’ the course. Amanda asked him why he had forgotten about the test when he, like the other students, was given a slip of paper showing the date. She said to him that he would have to ‘con’ his doctor into giving him a note, suggesting both caring but also complicity in helping him.

To summarise, although the students in Class Three express scepticism at the activities conducted by business organisations, it cannot conclusively be argued that it is due to the transmission of anti-business sentiment by Amanda during their Business Studies lessons. This is because although she indicated during her one-to-one interview that she was sceptical of business practices she was not observed communicating this message during the classroom observations.

Despite the comments made by Amanda during her interview (see Chapter Four) implying that she considered profitability to be important to business organisations (a value which is structural or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism), there was no evidence from the classroom observations to suggest that she was communicating the message that profitability is a dominant business objective.

The question therefore remains as to the source of the student’s scepticism about the

activities conducted by business organisations and their view that profitability is the most important business objective – a value that is structural or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism. These issues will be addressed in the remaining sections of this chapter.

1.4. The relationship between the students' knowledge of business values and their part-time jobs.

The fourth theme to emerge from this study indicates that a relationship exists between the part-time jobs conducted by the students and their knowledge of the nature of business values. The evidence obtained during the quantitative research, focus group research and classroom observations suggests that the students in Class Three believe that their knowledge of business values i.e. that profitability is a dominant business objective has been influenced by their teacher, Amanda, and their part-time jobs.

The findings obtained during the final phase of the quantitative research (May 2001) indicated that the majority of the students in Class Three said that they were being taught about business values during their Business Studies lessons. For example, when the students were asked the question: *'Are business values taught on your 'A' level or GNVQ Advanced course?'* 70% of the respondents felt that business values had been taught to some degree during their lessons. It was also significant to note, that when asked (during the final phase of the quantitative research) the students in Class Three were able to provide examples of the business values that they felt had been taught to them during their lessons with Amanda.

However, when the students were asked about the source of their knowledge in relation to business values, during the final phase of the study (May 2001), 60% of Class Three could not respond to the question, 20% had either guessed¹⁹ or thought common sense had influenced their response and 20% thought their part-time jobs had an impact upon their

¹⁹ The students stated on their questionnaires that they had guessed or thought that their common sense had influenced their knowledge of the nature of business values.

knowledge of business values. These data leave an unclear picture, however the focus group interviews provide some illumination.

It can be argued that the student focus group research substantiates the finding described above i.e. the students in Class Three believe that their teacher, Amanda, was communicating business values during their lessons and that their part-time jobs have influenced their knowledge of business values. These findings are illustrated in the two transcripts that are detailed below.

Focus Group D, Phase Five, 9th May 2001 – the group comprised two male students and one female (note that bold text refers to the questions asked)

‘Are business values taught on your GNVQ Advanced Course?’

‘They were, weren’t they?’ (Terry)

‘I think so...’ (Tina)

‘It is a bit of yes and no – there is not one section homed in on business values, as there are a lot of units they cover the surface area, so you get a range of different sources of information – so I would say yes and no.’ (Andy)

‘So which ones have been taught on the course?’

‘The ones that we have stated: the customer, business service and the price promise – we went on a trip to Merry Hill and looked at the company values there – we had a talk.’ (Andy)

‘Other than the course – has any other factor influenced your knowledge of business values?’

'Work experience, having worked two years in the work place outside of College as a part-time job you gradually pick up things.' (Andy)

'Mainly through the course – you have gained more awareness through the course.' (Terry)

'Mainly through the course but some of it is also through my part time job as well.' (Tina)

'So, what has influenced your knowledge most about business values?'

'Mainly College.' (Andy)

'College.' (Terry)

'College.' (Tina)

These responses may suggest that they have largely gained knowledge of business values at College; even Andy who has had work experience suggests it is 'mainly college'. However, as we shall see some of the students, of which Andy is one later qualifies this view.

Focus Group E, Phase Five, 9th May 2001, the group comprised two female students (note that bold text refers to the questions asked)

'Are business values taught on your GNVQ Advanced Course?'

'Yes.' (Anne)

'Yeh.' (Tessa)

‘Which ones are taught?’

‘It is more objectives how companies are set out objectives and how they achieve them – that companies have different objectives.’ (Tessa)

‘Profit, customer satisfaction, market leaders, research and development.’ (Anne)

‘Have you heard about business values from anywhere else?’

‘No.’ (Tessa)

‘I suppose at work – we have our objective to create customer loyalty and value at Tesco – it is plastered everywhere.’ (Anne)

‘Do you abide by this?’

‘Even though the customer is very rarely right you have to be nice – I want the job so I have to abide by their rules.’ (Anne)

‘Do you believe in that value?’

‘I believe that they create good customer values and a lot of their products are good – it is shown by the amount of profit they make.’ (Anne)

‘Where have you learnt most about business values?’

‘The course.’ (Tessa)

‘Going to work helps – you are there in uniform and people ask for help and you have to be nice to the customer as they are paying your wages but the course also tells you about trying – you are an image at work – where as here you find out more about it for a

qualification.’ (Anne)

Further evidence, obtained from the Focus Group Research, which suggests that the student’s part-time jobs have influenced their knowledge of business values, was observed when the students in Class Three referred to different aspects of their part-time jobs in order to answer the questions posed to them. For example during the third phase of the research (November 2000 – nine months into the study) the following comment, which is six months earlier than his comments above, was made by Andy in Focus Group D, when describing how the term ‘value’ could be used:

‘Principles, someone has the value to do something i.e. Tesco has the company value of providing products at low prices, this is their principle and their company value.’ (Andy²⁰)

When Focus Group E, during phase three of the research (November 2000), were asked to mention as many business values as they could, the following remark was made by Anne:

‘Retaining customers, to give value to customers so that they will stay shopping in there - I am just trying to think about Tesco’s.’ (Anne)

It is evident from the findings described within this section of Chapter Seven that the students in Class Three believe that their teacher, Amanda, and their part-time jobs have influenced their knowledge of the nature of business values. It could be argued that this finding is slightly surprising since there was no evidence obtained during the classroom observations as to the communication of values in lessons, although the students in Class Three believe that Amanda is teaching them values which relate to Anglo-American capitalism, the classroom observations did not produce any direct/explicit evidence to substantiate this claim.

²⁰ Both Andy and Anne carried out part-time jobs at Tesco.

1.5. Conforming to the values possessed by business organisations

The final theme to emerge from the quantitative research conducted with Class Three revealed that the students in Class Three would conform to the values possessed by their future employer even if they did not possess any form of personal conviction in the values. For example, during the final phase of the research (May 2001) the students were asked the question: *'When you commence your first full-time job, will you abide by the 'business values' held by your employer?'* The responses provided by Class Three to this question can be seen in Table 6.5 over:

Table 6.5: ‘When you commence your first full-time job, will you abide by the business values held by your employer?’

Class Three – Phase Five – May 2001 – a total of ten respondents
To start with. (2 respondents stated this).
If you do not abide by the values you are not setting the right example.
I would not abide by them if they are not loyal e.g. testing on animals.
Yes, it represents how the employer wants the business to run and I should respect that.
In order to keep my job I will have to stick to the rules. (2 respondents stated this)
Yes, due to the nature of accountancy.
Yes, it is my responsibility to abide by the values. (2 respondents stated this).
Yes, you have to commit to the business.

It can be seen from Table 6.5 above that the students would be prepared to abide by the values held by their future employers in order to ‘fit’ into the organisation.

When reviewing the evidence from the focus group research with Class Three it was

apparent that the findings differed slightly to those obtained during the quantitative research. This is because during the focus group research, both the male and female members of the groups stated that they did not want to work for an organisation if they did not possess conviction in the values held by that organisation; see the transcriptions below taken from the focus group sessions held with Focus Group D and E during the final phase of the study, May 2001.²¹

Focus Group D, Phase Five, 9th May 2001 – the group comprised two male students and one female (note that bold text refers to the question asked)

‘When you start your first job will you abide by their business values?’

‘At first – I would see how it goes.’ (Terry)

‘I would ensure that I join a company that I believe in their business values. Although if offered a lot of money I would go along with it.’ (Andy)

Focus Group E, Phase Five, 9th May 2001 – the group comprised two female students – note that bold text refers to the questions asked.

‘When you start your first jobs will you abide by their business values?’

‘Yes.’ (Anne)

‘If you wanted to stay there you would.’ (Tessa)

²¹ However, it is also interesting to note that the male respondents from Focus Groups D and C (see Chapter Eight, section 1.5 for more information on the findings generated from Class Four) stated that if they were being paid a lot of money they would not ‘care’ about the values held by the organisation. This response is suggestive in the light of the recent findings of the research entitled, ‘Young People in Britain: the Attitudes and Experiences of 12 to 19 Year Olds’ (Park, Phillips and Johnson, 2004) that boys were more likely than girls to agree that a job was just to earn money.

‘What if you do not believe in them?’

‘You would discuss them with your employer and come to some agreement.’ (Tessa)

‘If they are like morally bad like testing on animals – you would not apply to do the job in the first place.’ (Anne)

‘What if you did not believe in their values but you were being paid a lot of money to do the job?’

‘Give us an example.’ (Anne)

‘If they were dealing with arms – selling guns to another country and they were paying you fifty thousand pounds.’

‘No - it depends if they were selling to reputable companies or to children on the street.’ (Anne)

The students believe that they will not take jobs where their values are antithetical to that of their businesses, or they will be able to negotiate on them. However, it must be noted that in periods of economic recession, the students may find themselves out of financial necessity having to work for an organisation that possesses different values from their own personal values – in this situation ‘conflict’ may occur and the student/individual may find that their character is being ‘corroded’.

Arguably, it can also be suggested that the students in Class Three were being prepared to conform to the ‘dominance and subordinacy’ that exist within the hierarchical structure of the workplace. For example, the findings generated during the teacher research indicate that Amanda was communicating values during her lessons that will lead to the replication of the current structure of social class within the economy – work socialisation values (this was also the situation with the other teachers taking part in this study). This form of value

communication was referred to by Bowles and Gintis (1976) as the ‘Correspondence Principle.’ For example, it can be seen from Section 1.3 of this chapter, that Amanda was observed communicating work socialisation values during her classroom observations and during her interview, she said that she encouraged ‘*listening skills*’ i.e. she did not expect the students to talk when she was talking (this could be seen as a relationship of ‘dominance and subordination’ that is present within the hierarchical structure of the workplace and ‘prepares’ the student for the ‘social relations’ that exist within the working environment).²²

When considering the ‘Correspondence Principle’ (Bowles and Gintis, 1976) in more depth, it is interesting to note that Bowles and Gintis argue that:

‘Different levels of education feed workers into different levels within the occupational structure and, correspondingly, tend toward an internal organization comparable to levels in the hierarchical division of labor’ p.132.

They then go on to suggest that schools perpetuate their ‘*hold on students*’ in one of two ways: the student progresses within the school to the next level of ‘*behavioural regulation*’, or they leave the school and enter into the ‘*corresponding level in the hierarchy of production*’. Bowles and Gintis (1976) draw a distinction between the type of ‘*behavioural regulation*’ applied to students following ‘*vocational tracks*’ in comparison to those following ‘*college tracks*’.

It could be argued that the views of Bowles and Gintis (1976) see above, may account for why a higher number of students in Class Three hope to attain employment at the end of their course in comparison to those students in Class One (an ‘A’ level class). Here it is worth speculating that this is because the ‘*behavioural regulation*’ imposed upon the students in Class Three by their teacher Amanda, may differ from that applied to Class One by their teachers Hugo and Georgiana. For example the ‘role’ of Amanda is different within the classroom to that of Hugo and Georgiana (see the different teaching styles

²² It should be noted that the Correspondence principle is controversial because arguably listening skills are important in any social context. The key is to see if this claimed form of subordination is also reproduced in other aspects of the students’ college life.

adopted by Hugo, Georgiana and Amanda within the lessons observations cited within this thesis). Amanda is ‘acting’ as more of a ‘facilitator’ i.e. she guides and helps the students complete the Units of the GNVQ Advanced syllabus rather than teaching them directly i.e. standing at the front of the classroom and either communicating the subject content to the students or placing information onto the white board, which is the technique that is frequently adopted by Hugo and Georgiana. This encourages the students to conduct their own research, work at their own pace (given set deadlines for the completion of each Unit) and be more self-directing – which it could be argued are skills that will be of benefit to the students within the workplace.

1.6. Gender

The quantitative research suggested that gender was not an ‘issue’ when considering whether or not the type of capitalism present in England transmits its values uniformly or whether other factors were at work, for example, gender. However, when the findings generated during this focus group research were examined the evidence available that some if there are differences in terms of gender they are subtle.

It is evident from the transcription below, that the female members of Focus Group D were more ‘sympathetic’ to the plight of ‘Mary’ when considering the business scenario entitled, ‘Mary’ during the second phase of the study (July 2000) in comparison to the male members of the group. This is because the female respondents placed friendship and loyalty to Mary above money, when resolving the dilemma; for example, Tina states the following that indicates her loyalty to Mary:

‘I would talk to her – I would not tell anyone either.’ (Tina)

Whereas the male members of the group placed money and loyalty to their employer above friendship (see Table 3.2 for an example of the Business Scenario). For example Terry and Andy stated the following, reflecting their loyalty to their employer and the importance of

‘money’ over friendship:

‘She is only to blame if she does not tell the company what has happened and she is loosing money.’ (Terry)

‘Yes, it may be a big friendship but you could be loosing say £30 per week for a whole year – and you are loosing a proportion of your salary for being her friend.’ (Andy)

Focus Group D, Phase Two, 6th July 2000 – ‘Mary’, three male students and one female student were present (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked.)

‘Imagine that you are Mary’s friend, what situation do you find yourself in here?’

‘It is uncalled for, for Mary not to go into work, and to phone in sick due to boyfriend troubles.’ (Andy)

‘It has put her friend in an awkward situation as she has seen her in the Supermarket.’ (Tina)

‘She is a slacker.’ (Andy)

‘She is only to blame if she does not tell the company what has happened and she is loosing money.’ (Terry)

‘She is letting all of the other workers down.’ (Tina)

‘It is a production team really it is not an individual, if you take a component out of your team then it could collapse, everybody needs to work for each other.’ (Andy)

'I think what it will probably take is for the workers to speak to Mary and ask her and try and sort out any problems that she has – she probably has quite a lot.' (Robert)

'What would you do if you were Mary's friend in this situation?'

'I would talk to her – I would not tell anyone either.' (Tina)

'Yeh.' (Terry)

'If we told the Manager it is not good on our friend, if she is that much of a friend to you, you would not stab her in the back, you need to talk to her and tell her that she is needed on the production line,' (Tina)

'If you speak to her what are you going to say?'

'That basically she is letting the team down.' (Tina)

'Yes and loosing us money.' (Terry)

'And that if she is not bothered about staying in the company she should leave.' (Tina)

'I would speak to Mary and then speak to the Manager as if she is loosing money over this and she is always late and never on time she does not care for her job so why is she in the job in the first place and it is slowing production down so it is hindering everybody else – so have a word with Mary and wait for about a week, if any developments happen after that.' (Andy)

'Are there any other ways that this problem could be solved?'

'You could maybe get the whole team together and have a word with her.' (Tina)

'She may be a friend but in doing this, it is not only affecting yourself but also everybody else and this is your income. They do not get paid very much money and they have a regular income coming in, you find times are hard for the workers and by losing a member of the team everyone is losing out financially and this could put people into a difficult situation and if she continues to do that and the problem is not resolved then it is going to be hardships on everyone for the sake of a friendship. Yes, it may be a big friendship but you could be losing say £30 per week for a whole year – and you are losing a proportion of your salary for being her friend.' (Andy)

In the transcription above Andy and Terry seem to be taking a 'hard line' in considering the business consequences of Mary's action, whereas Tina is taking a more conciliatory position, emphasising more of a dialogue with her. But Tina also recognises that she is letting the team down, so her focus is not just on Mary's problems. In the transcription below, Andy and Robert come to adopt a hard line towards her, while Terry is more conciliatory.

This relates to a focus group session held with Focus Group D, during the fourth phase of the study, March 2001.

Focus Group D, Phase Four, 19th March 2001 – 'Mary', three male students were present (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked).

'What problem is Mary facing at the moment?'

'She is in a bit of a dilemma – she might lose her job and her relationship with her boyfriend.' (Andy)

'How do you think she could solve this problem?'

'She could make more of an effort to turn up to work on time, leave on time and work harder whilst there. She could take advice from her friends and be more loyal to her friends.' (Robert)

'Any other ways that she could solve this problem?'

'She could get another job, the hours do not suit her, the job does not suit her, the work that she does not interest her and these are all common factors that lead to her not coming into work.' (Robert)

'If you were the Boss how would you solve this problem?'

'Fire her, I would have a serious chat with her, even though she has already had warnings – I would get rid of her, she has had warnings and is costing the company money, I would get rid of her. It is unfair on the rest of the team.' (Andy)

'What if you are the person that has seen her – what would you do?'

'There are two ways, give her advice to try and solve her problems and make her come back to work feeling better or you tell her that she has not been very nice as she is costing you money.' (Andy)

'Would you tell the Boss that you had seen her?'

'No, it depends upon how good friends you are with her, if you are good friends with her, your feelings would come in and you would speak to her, if only an acquaintance and costing you money you would tell the Boss.' (Andy)

'I may speak to her and see what her reaction would be.' (Terry)

'Which of these strategies is best if you had seen her in the supermarket – what would

you do?’

‘It would depend upon the relationship, the feeling that you have for people dictate your opinions on the subject (Andy, Robert agreeing).’

‘I would not say anything unless she kept not turning up.’ (Terry)

‘Are there any other ways/strategies that you could solve this problem?’

‘If I was the Boss of the company I would use a team wage and also an attendance policy so that if you fall below a certain attendance without authorised absence you would be dismissed, as if you continue having your workforce absent it is costing you money and your colleagues money and this is not the correct way to run a business at all, and because of the low morale of this person it may influence other workers to follow suit.’ (Andy)

‘Yeh.’ (Robert)

‘No, I would have a quiet word with her.’ (Terry)

‘I would love you to be my Boss!’ (Andy laughing!)

‘Yes.’ (Robert)

The unsympathetic approach taken in order to resolve the dilemma, the application of fairness and lack of loyalty felt towards Mary, is encapsulated in the following statement made by Andy (see above for its context);

‘I would get rid of her, she has had warnings and is costing the company money, I would get rid of her. It is unfair on the rest of the team.’ (Andy)

1.7. Gender and the 'Official Line'

This transcription relates to a focus group session held during the second phase of the study (July 2000) when Focus Group E were discussing the business scenario, 'Mary'. In addition to providing evidence of the 'Official Line' the transcript also illustrates that James is capable of resolving the dilemma in an equitable manner. The following comment, made by Anne, during the session indicates that Anne has realised that Mary might not be the most suitable individual for the position that she is filling and therefore ought to be considered for a different job – the 'Official Line.' The 'Official Line' is when women make judgments or decisions upon the basis of what would be 'expected' of them, when holding a particular role within a business organisation, rather than their own personal judgment.

'Basically she should do a job which is more suitable for her and if they really don't want to get rid of her in the company they should use her somewhere else.' (Anne)

Focus Group E, Phase Two, 3rd July 2000 – 'Mary', two female students and one male student were present (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked).

'What problem are you experiencing here?'

'She is not pulling her weight and she is not being reliable.' (Tessa)

'What can you do about this?'

'I would sack her'. (Anne)

'She should not let her social life get in the way of her job.' (Tessa)

'Let her make the choice to leave by explaining to her in a nice way that the job is not for

her. '(Anne)

'What would you do as you cannot sack her, you work with her?'

'Tell the Managers that you saw her in the Supermarket. ' (Anne)

'I think that it is unfair that she is getting away with doing things like that and making lies up. ' (Tessa)

'They are being paid for how much they make, everybody else is working hard and she is not, it is really unfair – you should get rid of her'. (Anne)

'Not to say anything to her or the Manager – because my first loyalty is to my friends. '(Tessa)

'She is letting everybody else down though – also if you read it she has not been good dipping the sweets – she is unreliable you need reliable people. ' (Anne)

'I'm sure that she can sort out her boyfriend problems on her own. '(Tessa)

'I think that you ought to give her one more chance. ' (James)

'If she gets away with it she will do it again and again. '(Tessa)

'Give her one last final warning. '(James)

'Basically she should do a job which is more suitable for her and if they really don't want to get rid of her in the company they should use her somewhere else. '(Anne)

'What is your best solution?'

'Sack her.' (Anne)

'I would talk to the Manager and get rid of her.' (Tessa)

'Give her one last chance.' (James)

'What is your final solution?'

'Speak to her first probably.' (Anne)

'Why is this the best solution?'

'It would be harsh on Doris if everybody turned against her.' (Anne)

'It would be confidential - she would not be a very good friend you would not want to get her the sack and you would think very long and hard before talking to the Manager – this way you are keeping her as a friend - she may hate you for a little while – but you are doing the best thing that is for her and you are being a good friend and getting her out of trouble.' (Tessa)

It should be noted that this focus group session is early in the research and it may be that the women's views subsequently changed. This appears to be the case with Anne as suggested by the following comment during the fourth phase of the study (March 2001) when Focus Group E were considering the dilemma presented to them in the business scenario, 'Mary' (a transcription of this focus group session is detailed below): Anne considers the 'reality' of her situation and discovers that her loyalty is split between her friendship to Mary and the affect that Mary is having upon her own financial interests and the interests of the business organisation (Official Line), when she states the following:

'You are stuck in between, you are her friend, she is lying to the company and to you and other people are missing out because they are down on the production and

you are loosing the money just because of one person's sexual life and bringing it to work. '(Anne)

What is significant about this comment is that it shows that there is a tension between the caring attitude to problem solving sometimes exhibited by the young women (see the comments made by Tessa in the transcript below) and the Official Line. This is further discussed in the Conclusion.

Focus Group E, Phase Four, 19th March 2001 – 'Mary', two female students and one male student were present (note that the bold text refers to the question asked).

'What problems does Mary have?'

'She is unreliable. '(Anne)

'She is not very good at her job. '(Tessa)

'She is bringing her personal life into her job. '(Anne)

'She is not a very good timekeeper. '(Jamie)

'She is letting her colleagues down and her friend. '(Tessa)

'She is not a very good sweet dipper. '(Jamie)

'How do you think that she could personally solve this problem?'

'Concentrating. '(Anne)

'Setting herself targets. '(Jamie)

'Dumping her boyfriend. '(Anne)

'Being more loyal. '(Jamie)

'Being more truthful to her friends. '(Tessa)

'If you are the person who has seen her in the Supermarket what situation do you find yourself in?'

'You are stuck in between, you are her friend, she is lying to the company and to you and other people are missing out because they are down on the production and you are loosing the money just because of one person's sexual life and bringing it to work. '(Anne)

'How would you solve this problem?'

'Sack her. ' (Anne)

'No, I would go up to her and talk to her about it, I would say buck up your ideas or I will say something, as it is unfair on everybody else. '(Tessa)

'The problem with that is that with some people it will go in one ear and out the other, for two weeks they will be perfect on time highest production level then after two weeks it will go down again. '(Anne)

'We work with her though. '(Tessa)

'I would tell her then to buck up her ideas, as she is not being very nice to everybody else. '(Anne)

'I would just say you are letting everybody down and that people are loosing money as a result of her. '(Tessa)

'It is unfair though.' (Anne)

'Would you tell your boss?'

'No, I would not unless she does not buck up her ideas and not showing any improvements, I would also consult the other colleagues.' (Tessa)

What would you do Anne?

'Yes, but then I am harsh, as I am loosing money due to somebody.' (Anne)

'But what if it was me? Money is not everything, you are loosing a friendship and a friendship is for life.' (Tessa)

'She cannot be that good a friend though, if she is not turning up and she in not helping people work!' (Anne)

'What would you do Jamie?'

'No, I feel that it is her problem and that she should deal with it and if she does not get it together she is going to loose her job anyway – and if you do say something she is going to think that you are going against her.' (James)

'So, Jamie you would ignore this?'

'Yes.' (James)

'You cannot ignore it if it is in your face/' (Tessa)

'You are loosing money because of her.' (Anne)

Are there any other ways that you might have solved this problem?

'Be more diplomatic, get everybody on the production line to speak to her.' (Anne)

Here Anne leans more to following the 'Official Line' while Tessa is more concerned with Mary. What the exchange shows it that despite the caring and sympathetic approach of their teacher, Amanda, these students understand that there is a tension between what they might like to do and what is demanded of them.

When reviewing the research findings set out in this chapter it is evident that the conclusions reached are very similar in nature to those generated in Chapters Five and Six. The conclusions are presented below.

It can be suggested that the students in Class Three do not appear to be intrinsically interested in the subject of Business Studies but have decided to study it, as they believe it will be instrumental in their search for future employment. At the same time, the students express a sense of unease and scepticism at the activities conducted by business organisations. It is significant to note that despite the finding obtained during Amanda's (Class Three's teacher) interview, which implied that she was also sceptical of business practices; she was not observed communicating this message during her classroom observations.

The members of Class Three thought that profitability was the dominant business objective (section 1.1 of this chapter) and this was in line with the findings obtained from the research carried out with Classes One and Two; however, there was no evidence from Amanda's classroom observations to suggest that she explicitly communicated this dominant Anglo-American capitalist value.

The business value of customer service was frequently associated with or thought to underlie the business objective of profitability (Talbot 2000). As stated earlier, this finding is interesting, but not totally surprising given the argument in Chapter One of this thesis which

suggests that profitability can be an objective and a 'value' in its own right; if it is being regarded as an 'objective' then other 'values' such as customer service may underlie it.

From the quantitative work it seemed that most of students in Class Three would conform to the values held by their employer when they commence work, even if they do not believe in them. However, this view was qualified during the focus group research when it became apparent that the students in Class Three aimed to obtain employment with organisations possessing values with which they agreed. The students are clearly able to distinguish between their own personal values and those held by business organisations.

The final conclusion, generated from the research conducted with Class Three is that the students believe that both their part-time jobs and also their teacher, Amanda, have influenced their knowledge of business values. The students in Class Three are of the opinion that business values are being communicated during their Business Studies lessons. This is slightly surprising as although Amanda was observed communicating business values, they did not explicitly reflect Anglo-American capitalist values; instead, they tended to reflect work socialisation values and the concept of 'caring.' This finding differs from that obtained during the research conducted with Class One, as Class One were of the opinion that their teachers did not transmit values during their Business Studies lessons (see Chapter Five) and it also differs from the evidence obtained during the research conducted with Class Two, as the members of Class Two felt that their part-time jobs had influenced their knowledge of business values rather than their teachers (see Chapter Six).

The next chapter in this study, Chapter Eight, reviews the findings obtained during the research conducted with Class Four at Jones's College. This is the last element of the study to be presented before the formulation of the final conclusions, hypotheses and explanations. These will form Chapter Nine of this thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RESEARCH FINDINGS – JONES’S COLLEGE, CLASS FOUR

Introduction – Class Four an overview

This chapter discusses the major themes and key findings with specific reference to Class Four at Jones’s College.

Class Four is an ‘A’ level Business Studies class taught by Melena. She has been teaching for two years (previously an Accountant); she is the only teacher participating in this research who has experience of working in business.

Focus Group C comprises members of Class Four; it can be seen from Table 7.1: over, that during the first three phases of the research, the group comprised male students who are aged between seventeen and nineteen years old, and whose parents have a range of occupations from chef to director, half of the group have studied Business Studies at GCSE.

Due to the longitudinal nature of this study, Focus Group C suffered from, ‘sample mortality’ during the final phase (May 2001). This meant that the group contained three new members, Claire, Joanne and Sally²³ (Chris was the only original member present). As mentioned in the research methodology, see Chapter Two, it was significant to note that Chris was the main participant during this session which may suggest that he had become ‘sensitive’ to the questions being asked.

²³ It can be seen from Table 7.2: that the socio-economic status of the new students in Focus Group C is similar to the previous members, i.e. it is predominantly ‘white collar’ in nature.

Table 7.1: - Focus Group C member details Phases One to Three

Name of Student.	Age	Student studied Business Studies at GCSE?	Occupation of Parent One.	Occupation of Parent Two.
Alex	17	Yes	Admin/Clerical	Admin/Clerical
Mark	19	Yes	Chef	Housewife
Chris	17	No	Manager	Social Worker
Bill	17	No	Director	Admin/clerical

Table 7.2: - New members of Focus Group C – Phase Five.

Name of Student.	Age	Student studied Business Studies at GCSE?	Occupation of Parent One.	Occupation of Parent Two.
Claire	18	Yes	Manager	Housewife
Joanne	17	Yes	Supervisor	Supervisor
Sally	18	No	Supervisor	Nurse

1. Themes arising from the Student Research

1.1. Profit

As stated in previous chapters of this thesis, a major theme to have emerged from the research with previous classes was that, profitability was a major business objective, although as we shall see, as we review the evidence, this position is qualified in several ways.

During the final phase, May 2001, of the student quantitative research when the students were asked, why their stated objectives were most important, it was evident (from their responses), that several of them stated an objective other than profitability to be the most important; for example only two of the eight students classified profit maximisation as the most important business objective²⁴. However, when the ‘more’ open ended questions i.e. ‘*why do you believe that this is the most important business objective*’ were reviewed the findings become clearer and profitability seems, typically, to underlie their thinking; although it was apparent from the views expressed by Janet and Asia that they may possess a differing opinion as to the nature of the most important business objective (see her comment below):

Detailed below are the answers provided by Class Four to the question: ‘*Why do you believe that this is the most important business objective?*’ It can be argued from the evidence presented that the majority of the students classified profit to be the ‘ultimate’ business objective. For example Alex stated that:

‘Businesses need to grow in size to do well in the market, but it depends what kind of business it is. Also to make a larger profit and succeed against the competition’. (Alex)

The quote featured above is explaining why ‘growth’ is the most important business objective, it can be seen that the student believes that if the business grows it will make a ‘*larger profit*’ and ‘*succeed against the competition*’.

The statements below represent the views of two students (Mark and Marco) within Class Four, who consider profit to be the most important business objective, they are self-explanatory:

‘You start the business to make a profit.’ (Mark)

‘Profit is the principle motivation for the entire capitalist system.’ (Marco)

²⁴ Despite the low response rate this was still the most popular response to this question – for example, two students did not respond, and the other students classified either ‘market share’, ‘to be the best’, ‘people/the workforce’ or to ‘meet running costs’ as the most important business objectives.

It can be argued that Chris, quoted below, considered being the ‘*best*’ to be the most important business objective; however, one of the main reasons he provided for being the ‘*best*’ was to make, ‘*more profit*’, therefore he is indirectly classifying profit as the ‘ultimate’ objective of business.

‘If you are the best you will be making more profit and become the biggest and a secure business that people will trust and use’. (Chris)

Again, profit is considered by Verity as one of the prime reasons why a business needs to keep down or meet their costs;

‘If you do not meet your costs, you will not make a profit/breakeven’. (Verity)

However, while it can be argued that the evidence above points to the view that profit is the fundamental objective, the following comments suggest a broader view of business objectives.

Janet, quoted below, sees the workforce as germane to profit, a point that has rarely been considered in these focus groups.

‘A successful business will be making profit, have a happy, contented and committed workforce’. (Janet)

Finally, Asia, below stresses the importance of market share, for her this might be considered the prime objective from which profit flows:

‘With an increase in market share, the company has the ability to grow and produce more profit’. (Asia)

since market share as a means to more stable longer term profit suggests that she is taking a longer term view, which is akin to that of German or Japanese capitalism.

Despite the quantitative research indicating that typically the students in Class Four considered profitability to be the ‘ultimate’ business objective, it was apparent that

Focus Group C held a slightly different view, during the final focus group session; Phase Five of the study, May 2001. By now, other considerations were coming into play including cost control (this is an interesting finding bearing in mind that their teacher was an Accountant and cost control is an accounting technique!) and market share.

Focus Group C – Phase Five, 9th May 2001, the group comprised one male and three female students (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked).

‘What are business objectives?’

‘Growth.’ (Claire)

‘Market share.’ (Sally)

‘Running costs.’ (Joanne)

‘To be the best.’ (Chris)

‘Which one do you consider to be most important?’

‘It would probably be running costs first then market share and then to be, to be the best... if you have a good market share it is the same as being, the best– the two would both be second.’ (Chris)

It is interesting that when asked outright, did they think profit was an important business objective, they were not as direct in thinking so, compared to other groups:

‘Do you think that profit is an important business objective?’

‘I put that down on my sheet.’ (Chris)

‘It is important some times.’ (Claire)

'It is not the most important, as if you are a Charity you are not making a profit – it is important to the people that it helps out – if you are not making much profit it is not as important as covering all of your costs otherwise your business will just not work.' (Chris)

When we come to the BJ Pharmaceutical scenario, a consideration of the financial implications of the dilemma is present but these students also wrestle with the ethical issues.

Focus Group C, Phase Two, 23rd June 2000 – 'B J Pharmaceuticals Plc' the group comprised four male students (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked)

'What situation do you find yourself in here?'

'You are part owner of the business; you want the business to do well.' (Mark)

'Your friend works for the business.' (Bill)

'What situation do you find yourself in then?'

'Whether to sell or not.' (Chris)

'How could you solve this problem?'

'You could consult your friend.' (Bill)

'Look into it in the long run, what would happen if you did.' (Alex)

'The American business would sort of sponsor it and put more money into it so that they can launch the product, so I am thinking, instead of getting £3,000 from them you could hold out for more, and you would get loads of profit back and the sponsorship and they would be in a big market. You would get more money because they are a big brand.' (Chris)

'If this, wonder drug, works like it should do, everybody will want shares in it.' (Mark)

'I would keep a little bit of it in so that when the profits come rolling in I would get a little bit of that as well.' (Bill)

One of the members of the focus group felt that they would hold on a few months before selling three-quarters of their shares to the American Company so that the price rises in the future.

'Do the rest of you agree with this?'

'No.' (Mark)

'So what would you do?'

'I would not sell it to them. It says that they are trying to make a take-over bid so the drug must mean something to them and they restrict their sales and have high prices which is not good for everybody else that need the drug, so I would say no.' (Mark)

'I would not sell to anybody; I would take the gamble and hopefully make more money in the future.' (Alex)

'I would not sell just yet, I would see if the drug will work – would the government give a grant to develop it? If the government knows it will save people's lives it would be good to give a grant as it would improve their image.' (Bill)

'Are there any other solutions to this problem?'

'Buy more shares – as if the American Company do successfully take over the business you will be able to get more money out of them.' (Mark)

'Overall what is the best solution?'

'I think keep holding shares and see what happens.' (Chris)

'Don't know.' (Bill)

'What are you hoping will happen?'

'Not sure.' (Bill)

'Don't know.' (Chris)

'What ever you do, you are going to make money anyway, either now or in the long term.' (Mark)

'But it depends how much money.' (Alex)

'If you are going to sell to this, bloke, who restricts sales and charges high prices it might be good business sense as you are making loads of money but for everybody else who needs the drug its not good.' (Bill)

'Imagine this is your money, what concerns you most, making money or the people that will benefit from the cancer drug?'

'In business terms it is money but in layman's terms it is everybody else.' (Mark)

'You will still have the benefit.' (Alex)

At this point in the discussion, three of the members of the focus group are saying that they want to make money on their investment; the other student says that whatever they do they will make money.

'How much money have we got in the Bank?' (Chris)

'Say you have £15,000 in the Bank.'

'These questions are quite difficult, because whatever you say it is not the right or the wrong answer is it?' (Mark)

Pause – students thinking.

Students ask additional questions about the question in order to come to a view

Students have a discussion on whether they will make more money now or in the future.

‘So, what is your solution?’

‘Hold onto the shares.’ (Mark)

‘Can we not even sell one little part of it?’ (Chris)

‘We will keep it and see what happens – and in the long run it makes better business sense.’ (Mark)

‘If we go for the making money solution, what is the problem with this approach?’

‘That the drug does not work.’ (Bill)

‘You would have to take a gamble.’ (Alex)

‘What is the problem if you decided to hold onto your investment from a caring point of view?’

‘Everybody might sell out and you would be left with the Americans and they would ignore you.’ (Chris)

‘Did any of you consider the length of time that it might take to develop the drug?’

Pause

‘No’. (All)

‘So you would hold onto your shares and hopefully they would go up in value – the reason for this is to make money. You would consider finding another company who has a better reputation to buy your shares.’

‘That is what I meant.’ (Chris)

‘It depends on how much they are prepared to pay for them.’ (Mark)

It is evident from this transcription that they were often divided in their own views, as the discussion progressed. Take for example Bill’s views. At first he takes the view that this is primarily a financial issue:

‘I would not sell to anybody: I would take the gamble and hopefully make more money in the future.’ (Bill)

But later he observes:

‘If you are going to sell to this, bloke, who restricts sales and charges high prices it might be good business sense as you are making loads of money but for everybody else who needs the drug its not good.’ (Bill)

Mark’s comment is also interesting as he draws a distinction between the owner’s desire for the *‘business to do well’* and those individuals that *‘need the drug’*:

‘I would not sell it to them. It says that they are trying to make a take-over bid so the drug must mean something to them and they restrict their sales and have high prices which is not good for everybody else that needs the drug, so I would say no.’ (Mark)

And finally he sums up the dilemma:

‘In business terms it is money but in layman’s terms it is everybody else.’ (Mark)

Overall this class had a more qualified view of profit as the primary business objective. And it raises a question as to where their emphasis, on for example, market share came from. They were also very aware of the conflict between finance and ethics in the scenario. We need, therefore, to explore more closely their views on business and their personal values.

1.2. Anti-business and industry sentiments?

The findings obtained during this research suggest that some of the students in Class Four are ambivalent about the activities conducted by businesses. This view is reflected in the responses provided by the students when they explained why they had decided to study Business Studies (quantitative research); when they discussed what they intended to do when they left College (quantitative research) and when the students expressed concern at some of the practices conducted by businesses during the focus group research.

An initial question that was posed to the students in Class Four during the quantitative research (February 2000) was: '*Why did you decide to study Business Studies?*' It is evident from Table 7.3: over, that the findings are rather ambiguous, as some of the students stated that they had decided to study Business Studies as they were intrinsically interested in the subject; where as others had decided to study the subject as they perceived that it would help their future vocation.

Table 7.3: – ‘Why did you decide to study Business Studies?’ (Note: students may have provided more than one response).

Reason	Class Four, Phase One – February 2000.
No of respondents	11
It will help me with my future career/get a job.	2 (18%)
I am interested in the subject.	1 (9%)
I liked it at GCSE or Intermediate GNVQ.	1 (9%)
It is a good qualification/looks good on a C.V	1 (9%)
It goes with other subjects well.	1 (9%)
It gives me lots of options/University.	1 (9%)
It was not my decision.	1 (9%)
I am retaking the subject.	1 (9%)
I am studying Business Studies at University.	0(0%)
I am going to start my own business.	0(0%)
Total no of responses.	9

It was also apparent, when the students were asked the question: *‘What would you like to do when you leave College?’* (This question was contained within the final student questionnaire, May 2001), that although 63% of the students from Class Four wanted to go to University, none of them wanted to study Business Studies at University and also none of the students wanted to start their own business. It could be argued that this implies a lack of interest in the subject.

The scepticism expressed by the students in Class Four towards some of the activities conducted by business organisations was evident in the focus group session detailed below. This focus group session took place during the third phase of the research i.e. nine months into the research (November 2000); it illustrates the ‘poor’ impression that the students possess of businesses when they discuss Nike’s use of child labour. It is also interesting to note that the only comment made by a student during this research that could be classified as pro-business was also witnessed during this focus group session; revealing ambiguities in the students perceptions of businesses i.e. Alex refers to the ethical trading practices of Body Shop whilst Mark contemplates the behaviour of Nike; the transcription is detailed below:

Focus Group C, Phase Three Research, 20th November 2000, the group comprised four male students (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked).

‘What is meant by the term business values?’

‘Quality and ethics.’ (Bill)

‘Quality refers to good standards for the customer - ethics are family values and what the business believes in. Like the Body Shop giving more money back to the country of origin - some businesses value profit and growth.’ (Alex)

‘How much the business is worth – you would look at the assets of the business to determine this.’ (Mark)

‘Which of these business values do you believe to be most important to businesses?’

‘Ethics and image.’ (Mark)

‘Why do you believe these values are the most important business values?’

‘If they adopt good business ethics everybody will be more supportive – like when Nike was done for child labour and stuff, sales dropped.’ (Mark)

‘Image is how it looks in the public eye.’ (Bill)

‘The normal everyday person.’ (Mark)

It was interesting to note that members of the focus group indicated that they did not entirely trust the actions of B.J Pharmaceuticals when considering this dilemma during the fourth phase of the study, March 2001. Evidence of a lack of ‘trust’ in the Value Statements produced by Business organisations was also apparent during the research with Classes One, Two and Three. As previously mentioned, this ‘lack’ of trust raises an interesting question as to whether or not the students are generally sceptical of information that is presented to them, or if the scepticism expressed by the students is

specifically ‘reserved’ for business organisations. The following statement made by Chris, in response to the question, *‘Is there any other way that you may have solved this problem?’* Indicates that he does not entirely ‘trust’ B.J Pharmaceuticals (note that bold text refers to the question asked):

‘You have to wonder whether they will tell the truth or not, I would want to know how it was going to help cancer sufferers.’ (Chris)

and

‘What would you do if you were told it was very good?’

‘I would probably need proof in case they were lying, as they did not want to be taken over and were scared about losing jobs etc – they would also say it would work as they would want the money from the sponsorship.’ (Chris)

Three issues have arisen from the research conducted with Class Four: *prima facie* it appears that the students do not possess an intrinsic interest in the subject of Business Studies, unlike some of the other groups who are studying this subject, for example Class One: the evidence indicates that the students perceive the subject to be instrumental in obtaining their desired vocation and they express scepticism at some of the activities conducted by Businesses.

The question arises as to the source of their beliefs; for example, has it materialised due to the communication of anti-business sentiments by Melena (their teacher) during their Business Studies lessons or has some other factor, which is extraneous to the research, influenced their opinions.

1.3. What values were the teachers articulating?

The first classroom observation in respect of Melena was on the 21st June 2000. The notes relating to this lesson observation are presented below. It is apparent from these notes that Melena was observed stating her own views relating to values when she was looking at the ethical issues surrounding the setting up of businesses and it can be argued that she came very ‘close’ to trying to influence the views of the students when she expressed that a situation described by one of the students was an example of:

‘People trying to exploit other people’s business success and it is not fair.’

Melena’s lesson observed – 21st June 2000.

Lesson objective - *The objective of the lesson was to teach the students about the different types of business structure that exist and the advantages and disadvantages of each.*

Lesson content - *A series of notes were placed upon the board and the students were asked to copy them down; the concept of limited liability was discussed and Melena drew a picture upon the board to illustrate this.*

Melena discussed the advantages and disadvantages of being a sole trader and partnerships with the students by using a series of questions and answers.

Melena had previously stated in her interview, see Chapter Four, that she mentioned ethics during lessons when she felt it was appropriate; for example, when the class were looking at setting up businesses Melena said:

‘It is not ethical to set up a burger bar in red and yellow called McBurgers as it is already happening at McDonalds – legally it would also be prevented from happening as a way of protecting other existing businesses.’

A student continued this discussion by referring to a website using David Beckham's name and also Sainsbury's cola looking like Coca-cola. Melena said that these are examples of:

'People trying to exploit other people's business success and it is not fair.'

During the second classroom observation slightly different values were observed being communicated. During this lesson several examples of Melena expressing values relating to work socialisation were witnessed:

'Settle down as you are too chatty.'

She also asked another student not to:

'Ride on the back of your chair.'

Further details of the lesson observation, which took place on the 8th January, are presented below.

Melena's lesson observed - 8th January 2001

Lesson objectives – *To introduce the students to Ratio Analysis.*

Lesson content – *Melena commenced the lesson by checking the student's examination entries. She then introduced the new 'topic' of ratio analysis – Melena explained, using the white board, how to calculate the different profitability ratios. The students were then provided with a copy of a Balance Sheet and a Profit and Loss Account and asked to calculate the ratios that Melena had just described to them.*

Melena went over this on the board with the students and then asked them to attempt to write a commentary on how the company had performed from a profit point of view during the last two years – they needed to analyse the Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account that they had been given in order to do this.

Melena placed an analysis of what had happened to the Net Profit Margin Ratio onto the board and she then looked at the Return On Capital Employed.

Melena then went on to describe, using the White Board, the Liquidity Ratios, Asset Ratio, Debtor Days/turnover, Gearing Ratios and Shareholder Ratios. The students were then asked to calculate these using the Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account that they had been supplied with. Melena then went over the answers to them on the board with the class.

Overall it could be argued that the classroom observation notes presented above illustrate an example of ‘missing’ value communication/transmission or silence on a key issue; this is because the lesson could have comprised ethical auditing²⁵. This is also the situation with the lesson described below; as when one of the students in the class raised an ethical issue it was not expanded upon by Melena:

Melena’s lesson observed – 22nd January 2001.

Lesson objective – *The objective of the lesson was for the students to understand Budgets and Budgetary Control.*

Lesson content – *Melena started the lesson by asking the students if they knew what a Budget was – she then placed a definition onto the board. The students were asked to think of as many reasons as they could why businesses set budgets, the responses provided by the students were then placed onto the board.*

Melena explained to the students that the success of a Manager could be judged by whether or not he/she stays within budget – she described to the students why the budgeting process needed to be co-ordinated.

²⁵ Reviewing a businesses ethical code (a report detailing the way in which the business ‘expects’ its employees to behave when their honesty/integrity or social responsibility is being ‘challenged’ – see Wall, Marcouse, Line and Martin, 1999, p.101) to check for areas of compliance and non-compliance i.e. has the company met its recycling targets or pollution targets for the year.

Melena described to the students the process of making a budget – some notes were placed onto the white board and the students were asked to copy them down.

The different types of Budget found were described to the class and a series of notes placed onto the board, relating to the advantages and disadvantages of them – the students copied these down.

The lesson ended with Melena placing a series of actual and forecast budgets onto the board, the students copied these down, she explained to them about the concept of variance analysis and they were given a set of notes relating to Variance Analysis.

One of the students being observed mentioned that ethics might come into the costing of labour – this point was noted by Melena but not expanded upon.

It is apparent from these notes that she adopted several positions in relation to values: she communicates values that reflect her own value preference; she communicates values relating to work socialisation and she also fails to communicate values when opportunities arise as exemplified by the question she was asked about the cost of labour.

1.4. The relationship between the students' knowledge of business values and their part-time jobs.

The next theme to emerge during the student quantitative research indicated the prevalence of an association between the part-time jobs carried out by the students and their knowledge of the nature of business values.

The following transcriptions, which relate to focus group sessions held during both the third (November 2000) and fifth (May 2001) phase of the study, contain the views of the students participating in Focus Group C; it was observed during the quantitative research that Class Four did not believe that business values were taught to them during their lessons. It should be noted that for this focus group the teacher was in earshot and as indicated below this might have had an influence on their responses.

Focus Group C, Phase Three, 20th November 2000, the group comprised three male students.

‘Are business values taught on you course?’

‘No’ (Alex)

‘Do not know.’ (Bill)

Note: the body language of the students implied that they were embarrassed saying this as their teacher could hear their response!

‘Have you ever been taught quality, ethics or growth?’

‘Yes, we have looked at all of those on the course!’ (Mark)

‘Yes, we have been taught business values.’ (Bill)

‘If you have been taught about business values, what are they?’

‘Quality, ethics and growth.’ (Mark)

‘Have you heard about business values from anywhere else?’

‘No’ (all)

‘What about your part-time jobs?’

‘Jobs do not emphasise these values.’ (Mark)

‘What about newspapers?’

‘Do not see anything in newspapers about business values?’ (Bill)

Note: the group needed a lot of encouragement/prompting in order to be able to answer the questions asked.

What is interesting about these responses is that, in contrast to other groups these students did not consider part-time jobs as a source of their views about values. Were they mentioned in the next focus group session?

Focus Group C, Phase Five, 9th May 2001, the group comprised three female students and one male student (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked.)

‘Are business values taught on your course?’

‘No (all).’

‘How do you know what business values are then?’

‘We don’t.’ (Joanne)

‘It’s what you would expect.’ (Claire)

‘I have read about it somewhere, I am sure I have done something on it.’ (Chris)

‘We have done ethics – business ethics, which is kind of like values – we have done objectives – this is where we have got the ideas from.’ (Sally)

‘Have you heard anything about values in your part-time jobs?’

‘We are told about the customer being important at Safeway and you serve them first which you do not always do.’ (Chris)

‘Are you frightened that you would loose your job if you did not abide by their values?’

'No, they need me really – it's the point of the supermarket, they have to have their customers and sell so much stock to make a profit.' (Chris)

There are two points to emerge from these focus groups. The first is that there may be a lack of clarity in relation to the notion of business values. They were clarified in the first session but not the second. Even so, the issue of part-time jobs in relation to values, in contrast to the other groups does not seem to be significant to them²⁶.

1.5. Conforming to the values possessed by business organisations

During the final phase, May 2001, of the quantitative student research the respondents were asked the question: *'When you commence your first full-time job, will you abide by the business values held by your employer?'* The answers provided by the students in Class Four, to this question, can be seen in Table 7.4: over:

²⁶ During the first phase of the quantitative research (February 2000) nine of the eleven students in Class Four possessed a part-time job.

Table 7.4: ‘When you commence your first full-time job, will you abide by the business values held by your employer?’

Class Four, Phase Five Research (May 2001)
Total Number of Respondents – 8.
I will do what I think is the right thing.
Yes, I will be new and unaware of what is acceptable.
Yes, I will be getting paid for it.
Yes, because I want to succeed, gain promotion and earn more money. To improve my personal circumstances.
Four students did not respond to this question.

It can be seen from Table 7.4: above that the majority of the students that responded to this question from Class Four would abide by the organisations ‘values’ in order to further their career. However, half of Class Four did not respond to this question.

When the members of Focus Group C were asked the question: ‘*When you get your first full time job will you abide by the business values of your employer?*’ their response differed slightly from that obtained during the quantitative research, as they indicated (see the transcription below) that they would endeavour to work for an organisation who possessed similar values to their own in order to avoid having to ‘practice’ values that they did not personally believe in²⁷.

²⁷ This finding was also prevalent amongst the other classes participating in this research, see Chapters Five, Six and Seven of this thesis and it was pointed out in these chapters that this ‘view’ possessed by the students, that they will only work for an organisation if they believed in its values or it was prepared to pay them a lot of money, could be described as naive. This is because if the economy is not booming the individual may have to obtain employment with an organisation possessing differing values to that of their own, out of financial necessity.

Focus Group C, Phase Five, 9th May 2001 – the group comprised three female students and one male student (note that the bold text refers to the questions asked)

‘When you get your first full time job will you abide by the business values of your employer?’

‘Yes.’ (Chris)

‘It depends on what they are, if it is something that you do not want to do then you are less likely to abide by them.’ (Sally)

‘They are the ones paying your wages -if their values were really bad I would not work for them.’ (Chris)

As with some of the other classes, this response may be idealistic depending on the degree of choice they have as to which jobs they take up.

1.6. Gender

The analysis in terms of gender was complicated by the samples. In the Focus group reported below there are three boys who consider the Mary Scenario.

It can be seen that during this focus group session the male members of Focus Group C adopted a very ‘harsh’ and ‘matter of fact’ attitude towards Mary; had women been present they might have tempered their views.

Focus Group C – Phase Four, 19th March 2001 – ‘Mary’ – the group comprised three male students

‘What is the problem facing Mary?’

'She is not going to work very much and she is not very good anyway, she does not enjoy it.' (Alex)

'She does not dip the sweet right.' (Chris)

'She has not got the right attitude.' (Alex)

'She has already had enough warnings to sort herself out and she has obviously not taken notice of them.' (Chris)

'She does not work hard enough.' (Alex)

'How can she overcome this problem?'

'She needs to get another job, she does not like this job, she says she is ill but she is not. She is not going anywhere in the firm and might get a better job and be more motivated elsewhere.' (Chris)

'She ought to work harder and then she will get more wages, talk to colleagues more – she should not give the job up, it is an easy job, she is not going to find an easier job than dipping sweets!!' (Alex)

'What is best that she quits or stays?'

'She ought to give up the job so that the rest of the group benefit, they need to get somebody new in who is better at the job.' (Chris)

'Are there any other ways that she might have solved this problem? Other than quitting?'

'They could like offer her something like to make her come into work as there is no promotion, they could offer her an incentive, they would also have to do this with the others as well as the others seem to be doing alright.' (Chris)

'She could be trained, this would be cheaper than getting a new person in.' (Alex)

'I think that training would motivate her a little bit but she would still not like the job, it would be the same pattern.' (Chris)

'What incentives could you offer her to come into work?'

'It would not be much as you would also have to offer it to the others, I suppose the group incentive scheme but she does not pay much attention to that.' (Chris)

'You could train her to do another job, to find something else for her that she enjoys.' (Alex)

'Toilets?' (Chris)

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this transcript was when they considered the ways in which the problem might be solved and the incentives that might be offered to her to come to work. Here, some possibly standard 'HR' responses are given as to how the problem might be tackled, 'training' and 'group incentives'. But there is little direct evidence of 'sympathy' or caring for her problems.

1.7. – Gender and the teachers' approaches to moral judgements

When reviewing the teacher research it was evident that Melena (Class Four's teacher) was capable of adopting both a 'caring' approach to the resolution of the business dilemmas and she utilised the 'Official Line.' For example, Melena was observed communicating values relating to 'caring' during the classroom observations conducted on the 22nd January 2001 and 19th March 2001. Her practice, as we have seen, also involved work socialisation values.

2. Conclusion

It can be suggested that, in contrast to the students in the other classes, those in Class Four did not consistently view profit as the primary business objective, rather market share was mentioned as was having a contented workforce but it was not clear where this view had come from, it was not apparent when observing Melena teaching.

However, they seemed to be ambiguous as to the value of Business Studies, which they did not see as retaining intrinsic interest. When they came to considering ethical dilemmas they took a sophisticated approach that distinguished between financial decisions and personal ethical decisions. And in contrast to other classes they did not see part-time jobs as a way in which business values could be understood or learned. They took a rather idealistic view of whether they would accept the values of the company they might work for in the future, suggesting that they would choose companies whose values were consistent with their own. And again, here there were differences with responses in other classes. The question of gender differences was rendered problematic because of the bias in the sample when this issue was discussed.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This final chapter will discuss the findings in relation to the research questions posed. However, further issues of interest have been raised during the course of this research that are highly significant in their own right and therefore worthy of consideration. We start with the research questions.

1. What business values do students hold?

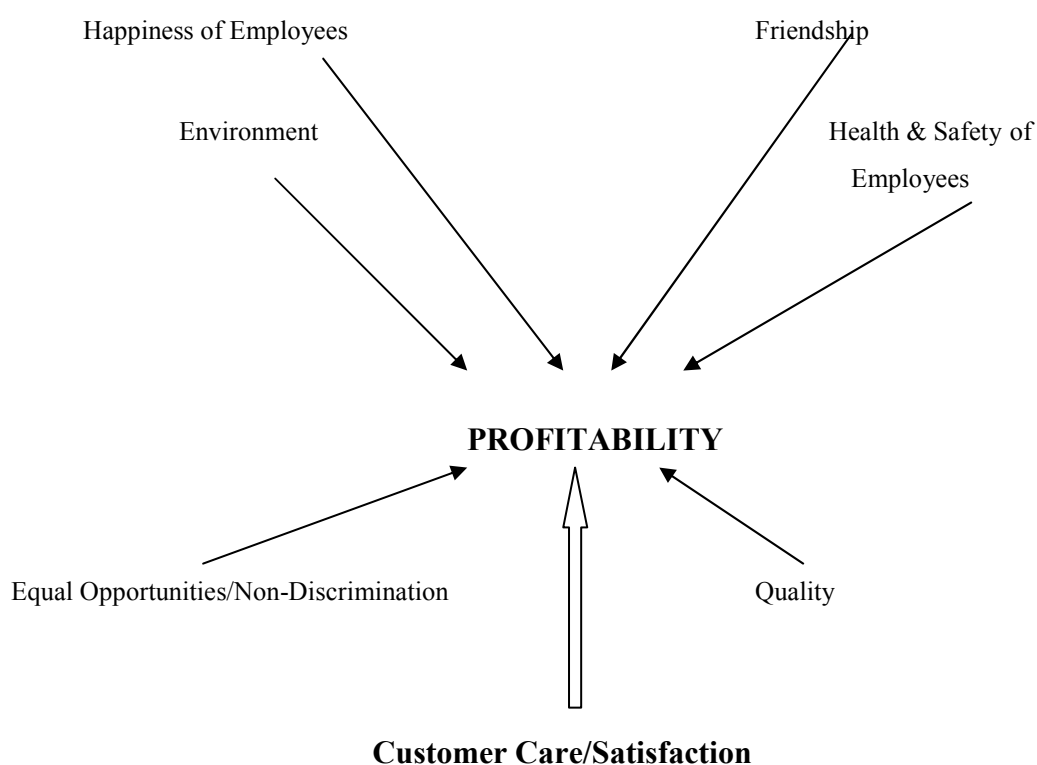
Most students consider certain business values to be of primary importance. It was evident that the business objective, 'profit' dominated the student research findings and the students, both male and female, considered there to be a strong association between profitability and related values. Here profitability seemed to be related to the values intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism because of the way their views on profitability were framed. In this sense it can be argued that the absence of other objectives such as market shares or the interests of other stakeholders such as workers, frames profit as being within the Anglo-American form of capitalism. In effect it is simply given because other objectives and values are not considered.

However, values that may be associated with other forms of capitalism were in evidence in Class Two and Class Four. It could be suggested that Class Two was an anomaly as they mention objectives such as, 'market share' and 'good image' and then qualify this by saying that different objectives may be more important at different times whilst Class Four provided a significant contrast with the way most students thought about business values and objectives. In this class market share, and the

interests of workers was mentioned as objectives indicating a sense of objectives and associated business values that went beyond Anglo-American capitalism.

The students mentioned other values but they seemed to be directly tied to the objective of profitability. These included ‘equal opportunities/non-discrimination’, ‘quality’, ‘keeping employees and staff happy’, ‘friendships’, ‘health and safety for employees’ and the ‘environment’. However the most important business value that was related to ‘profit’ was that of customer care/satisfaction as instrumental in the achievement of profitability or profit maximisation.²⁸ This finding is depicted below, see figure 1. note the thickness of the arrow denotes the strength of the association.

Fig. 1. – Values associated with the objective ‘Profitability’



²⁸ This, ‘theme’ initially emerged during the student quantitative research and has subsequently been clarified and substantiated in the evidence generated from the focus group and student scenario research, see Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight of this thesis for more information.

However, while for the majority of students, profit and customer care seen as ‘given’, and in the absence of other considerations could be seen as central to Anglo-American capitalism, it can be suggested that ‘tensions’ or ‘conflicts’ similar to those described by Sennett (1998, 2006) are either currently impacting upon the nature of their espoused values or they may in the future, when the students enter full time employment. The contrast is between the values presupposed or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism and the personal values of the students: it was evident during this research, that some of the students experienced difficulties resolving the business scenarios presented to them, as their own personal values were in ‘conflict’ with, or ‘differed’ from those practiced and/or possessed by business organisations.

For example, during the fourth phase of the study (March 2001), Andy, a member of Focus Group D, is seen applying ethical values to his decision making process, when, in a discussion of BJ Pharmaceutical, he refers to the overcharging of the NHS as being ‘worse’ than taking credit for the development of a drug that they did not ‘create’. He commented as follows:

‘Then the big American company will buy your shares and they might not invest in the business, they will take over the company and take the full credit for the drug that your friends have strived to create. Due to their record with the NHS they would over charge for it, which is even worse. You need instant access to it. They are all about greed and money’. (Andy)

Additionally, the students were often observed applying ethical values when assessing the behaviour of business organisations. For example, during the second phase of the study (30th June 2000) when focus group A were considering the ‘BJ’ scenario, Peter referred to the dilemma as, ‘it is a moral issue – isn’t it really?’ and concluded that ‘they are only interested in their money.’ This statement implies that Peter believed that factors other than money; for example, the welfare of their customers, could have influenced the decision making of the organisation. It is suggested that the application of ethical values, by the students, to the behaviour and practices undertaken by business organisations (which reflect values intrinsic or structural to Anglo-American capitalism) could lead to potential conflict if the moral values advocated by the student, differ from those being practiced by business organisations (Sennett 1998,2006).

A similar view to that described in the paragraph above is held by Bakan (2004); he recognises that conflict exists within organisations between the differing values possessed by the organisation to that of its employees. He notes that the majority of business executives are, 'good people' and 'moral people,' yet when they are at work they have a corporate duty to place the interests of the organisation above all other interests, for example the interests of other individuals. Bakan (2004) qualifies this further by stating that the organisation will permit concern for others if it can be seen as enhancing the interests of the business. It will be recalled that he refers to an interview conducted with Anita Roddick, in which she blamed the concept of profit maximisation, *'for business's amorality, for forcing otherwise decent people to do indecent things'* (2004, p.55). Roddick elaborates further upon her views, when she refers to employees, *'compartmentalising'* their lives due to the culture in many organisations which promotes the 'disassociation' of employees from their own personal values, this she argues, *'stops people from having a sense of empathy with the human condition'* (2004, pp.55-56).

All of the focus groups participating in this study are sceptical of some business practices, for example, due to the lack of 'trust' they expressed towards the content of the Value Statements produced by business organisations i.e. the students were unsure as to whether or not business organisations actually adhered to the content of these statements or if they produced them in order to keep their 'customers', 'the public' and 'potential investors' happy. Terry and Andy, members of Focus Group D stated the following during the final phase of the study (May 2001), when considering the nature of the Value Statements produced by business organisations:

'So why do you think they have business values?'

'To lure customers in.' (Terry)

'To give customers a false sense of security.' (Andy)

Further evidence that indicates the students do not entirely 'trust' business organisations is contained within the following statement made by Chris, during Class Four's focus group session, on the BJ Pharmaceutical scenario, held in March 2001.

When responding to the question, *'Is there any other way that you may have solved this problem?'* he says that:

'You have to wonder whether they will tell the truth or not, I would want to know how it was going to help cancer sufferers.' (Chris)

However, this 'lack' of trust expressed by the students, raises a question as to whether or not the scepticism expressed by the students is specifically 'reserved' for business organisations or whether they are demonstrating the possession of a more 'general' lack of trust.

It was interesting to note that during the scenario research conducted with Focus Group B, during the fourth phase of the research on the 28th March 2001, Andrew indicted that he did not 'trust' the explanations provided by 'Mary' relating to her non-attendance (as opposed to a Business Organisation). This implies that he may be generally sceptical of information that is presented to him regardless of its source. For example, when he was asked, *'How would you solve this problem?'* he responded as follows:

'Have a word with her, try to find the real reason why she is not turning up, not the reason that she is trying to "fob" you off with (Andrew).'

This point is raised because as mentioned in Chapter One a recent survey in Britain entitled, 'Young People in Britain: the Attitudes and Experiences of 12 to 19 Year Olds' (Park, Phillips and Johnson, 2004) indicates that young people may generally be less trusting. For example, 71 per cent of the respondents stated that *'you can't be too careful'* when dealing with others. (p.4). Despite the findings presented in the paragraphs immediately above, which support the suggestion that 'young' individuals might be generally less 'trusting' in comparison to previous generations, it is unclear whether this trust is confined to businesses or is more general. This is a point, which is discussed further below.

Trust was not only an issue for the students. For example, Policy Maker One regarded trust as an important 'business asset', which if eroded could produce a less effective and 'pleasant' working environment. She thought that *'trust'* and the building of long-term

business relationships should be transmitted within Business Studies lessons, as ‘trust’ is important in business in order to create long-term relationships rather than just winning the current deal.

The question arises as to why ‘trust’ is perceived as an issue by Policy Maker One, such that its importance should be advocated during Business Studies lessons. Sennett (1998) believes that the Short-termism associated with Anglo-American capitalism may be at fault, as it creates a sense in which ‘*trust, loyalty and mutual commitment*’ are corroded which means that for workers there may be an absence of trust or it may take the form of suspicion of others. Sennett (2006) suggests that in addition to the concept of trust – ‘loyalty’ is also being ‘corroded’ due to the nature of short-termism. He argues that employees are not loyal to their employer as they frequently ‘change’ employment (*low institutional loyalty*) and they are not loyal to their colleagues i.e. there are low levels of ‘*informal trust*’ within the workplace, as meaningful relationships are not established due to short-term contracts – the employee is constantly changing jobs and working alongside different individuals; he believes that this lack of ‘informal trust’ creates tension within the working environment as; ‘not really knowing other workers can increase anxiety’ (p.68).

Two issues arise from these points; the first is that it is beyond the remit of this thesis to identify whether these questions about trust and loyalty arise specifically in relation to business practices or whether they reflect more widespread changes as regards society but it is an issue worth pursuing in subsequent research. The second, that also prompts further research, is that there may be a connection between lack of trust and short-termism in the Anglo-American form of capitalism and its influence on the wider society. Such a possibility would, for example, be considered by Neo-Marxist analyses. However, such an analysis could be ‘tested’ in an indicative way by looking at whether there were gender differences in relation to these issues. Were girls more likely to be trusting and loyal than boys? If so then that would suggest that there are other sources of values than those of business.

In examining this question the nature of the way it was investigated is important. In asking the students to reflect on particular dilemmas or scenarios it is unlikely that a clear view will emerge, as initially hoped, because the focus group context creates the ‘space’

for consideration of possible views that may soften or change positions. The inferences drawn as to whether there are gender differences are likely to be tentative.

The following examples illustrate this point: During the second phase of the study (July 2000), two male members of Focus Group D (Terry and Andy) stated the following when they were considering the dilemma presented in the 'Mary' scenario; the comments reflect a tension between loyalty to Mary, depending on how good a friend she is, and loyalty to their employer and the importance of 'money' over friendship:

'She is only to blame if she does not tell the company what has happened and she is loosing money.' (Terry)

'Yes, it may be a big friendship but you could be loosing say £30 per week for a whole year – and you are loosing a proportion of your salary for being her friend.' (Andy)

However the female members of the focus group placed friendship and loyalty or 'informal' trust to Mary above money, when resolving the dilemma; Tina stated the following:

'I would talk to her – I would not tell anyone either.' (Tina)

During the fourth phase of the focus group research (March 2001) Andy responded to the scenario as follows:

'What if you are the person that has seen her – what would you do?'

'There are two ways, give her advice to try and solve her problems and make her come back to work feeling better or you tell her that she has not been very nice as she is costing you money.' (Andy)

Here, it seems, he is willing to entertain two strategies, one that shows a degree of care and loyalty to her, the other which is the opposite, and this is emphasised in response to the follow up question below:

‘Would you tell the Boss that you had seen her?’

‘No, it depends upon how good friends you are with her, if you are good friends with her, your feelings would come in and you would speak to her, if only an acquaintance and costing you money you would tell the Boss.’ (Andy)

However, after these considerations he comes down to this view:

‘I would get rid of her, she has had warnings and is costing the company money, I would get rid of her. It is unfair on the rest of the team.’ (Andy)

It was interesting to note that when Focus Group E was considering the ‘Mary’ scenario during the second phase of the study (July 2000) that Tessa indicated that her, *‘first loyalty is to my friends;’* and during the fourth phase of the study (March 2001) Anne outlines the personal conflict that she is experiencing due to her loyalty being divided between her friendship to Mary and the affect that Mary is having upon her own financial interests and the interests of the business organisation, she makes the following comment:

‘You are stuck in between, you are her friend, she is lying to the company and to you and other people are missing out because they are down on the production and you are losing the money just because of one person’s sexual life and bringing it to work.’ (Anne)

What is significant from the comments made by Andy, Terry and Anne is that after they have weighed the dilemma in their minds and through conversation they indicate that their primary sense of ‘loyalty’ is to their employer: For example, Anne does not think that it is ‘right’ that Mary is lying to the company, Andy believes that Mary is ‘costing the company money’ and Terry believes that Mary has a duty to inform the company of what she is doing. This finding is surprising as it conflicts with the arguments presented by Sennett (2006) who believes that institutional loyalty is diminishing due to the ‘short-termism’ associated with Anglo-American capitalism. Instead, it suggests that the students are accepting or accommodating to company values because they believe that the organisation would want them to prioritise the

financial well being of the business over the personal concerns of its employees: It was noted earlier that Bakan (2004) believes that business organisations will ‘allow’ their employees to express concern for their colleagues in so far as it is furthering the ‘interests’ of the business. However, more research is required in order to clarify and substantiate these findings.

A further area of potential future conflict relates to the jobs they take up. The evidence presented in this thesis suggests that the students are aware that business organisations will expect them to ‘conform’ to their ‘chosen’ values, this is because the majority of the students believe that when they commence their first full-time job, they will have to ‘abide’ by or conform to the values held by their employer and if they are not seen to be doing this, they run the risk of being dismissed or ‘sacked’; in the light of this knowledge they will aim to seek employment with business organisations that possess values that do not conflict with their own personal values.

However, as previously noted it might be difficult for some of the students to obtain employment with a business endorsing similar values to their own personal values and the students may, out of financial necessity, have to sacrifice their own personal values in favour of those being practiced by their employer – this could lead to possible ‘tensions’ and ‘conflicts’ in the work place in the ways expressed over the scenarios presented to them.

A finding to emerge was that the male respondents, typically, appeared more ‘willing’, than the female respondents, to sacrifice their own personal values in preference to those held by their employer (if the financial gain is significant); even if the values practiced by the business organisation conflict with their own ‘personal’ values. However, it could be argued, also, that the reality of getting a job may cause their views to change. More research needs to be conducted in order to see if the views of the students alter once they have experience of full time employment.

However, the idea that they may be able to find jobs in companies where the values practised are consistent with their own may explain why the students were sceptical of some business practices while at the same time seeing Business Studies as helping them obtain future employment. With the exception of Class One, the quantitative research

suggests they seem to be studying Business Studies, not because they are intrinsically interested in the subject but because they perceive it to be instrumental in their search for future employment. This is one hypothesis to explain what seems to be, without further investigation, something of a split morality where they see a job as necessary but not always consistent with their values or interests.

However, for some students there do seem to be limits to the degree that they will accept perhaps the more extreme practices of Anglo-American capitalism as represented by the BJ Pharmaceutical scenario in relation to Focus Group D, during the second phase of the research (July 2000), Terry comments as follows:

'I would also hold onto the shares, as if the American firm takes over, they will cut wages and people may get the sack.' (Terry)

It may not be, as Wiener (1981) and Barnett (1986) have suggested, that an anti-business culture prevails in general in Britain, as reflected in this sample, but there is scepticism in relation to some practices and outright rejection, for Focus group D, on the basis of their ethical values for some practices.

1.1. Differences between A-Level and GNVQ classes.

It was evident that considerably more students in Class Three (GNVQ) wanted to obtain employment at the end of their course, instead of furthering their studies, in comparison to the other classes participating in this study. For example during the final phase of the study, May 2001, six of the ten students in the GNVQ class wished to obtain employment rather than enter higher education where as only two of the eight students in Class One wished to follow this course of action. This finding may reflect firstly; the nature of the course a GNVQ which is part vocational and therefore less academic than 'A' levels that are perceived as the 'traditional' entrance qualification into higher education and more focused upon the working environment. It is argued by Bowles and Gintis (1976) that the '*behavioural regulation*' imposed upon students will influence their exit level from education and their corresponding entrance level into the working environment. This argument implies that the '*behavioural regulation*' in Class

Three by their teacher Amanda, may differ from that applied to Class One by their teachers Hugo and Georgiana. Although this study has not produced any direct evidence to support this argument, more in-depth research is required in order to assess the structural arrangements of the different course programmes.

2. To what extent can the development and/or acquisition of these values be explained by their education?

It was evident from Section One of this study that the values possessed by the students fell into two categories; the first category comprised values that they frequently cited or referred to during the quantitative research and aspects of the focus group research; for example, that profitability is the most important business objective. The second category comprised the espoused values of the students; for example, values relating to their ethical positions.

In order to address the question of the role played by education in the students' development and/or acquisition of these values the policy chain will be referred to.

If we start with the policy makers, it will be clear that they did not all share the same views as to the values that should be taught in Business Studies. It was interesting to note that the policy makers with the exception of Policy Maker One, did not advocate the direct transmission of values structural or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism. For example, the evidence obtained from the policy maker research suggests that the policy makers perceive there to be a difference between the values that they believe ought to be transmitted during Business Studies lessons and those that they feel are being transmitted. Despite the policy makers possessing different views relating to the nature of business values it was evident from the research that they would like values of the following nature to be transmitted during Business Studies lessons 'trust' (Policy Maker One) 'caring' and 'ethics' and the 'community/society'. However Policy Maker One, also emphasised that it was important:

'To get the agreement of the students that the creation of wealth is a valid purpose and not below the salt - an element of toughness and courage are to be valued, courage to adopt, a go get it approach.'

Turning to the teachers, this study suggests that they are communicating values related to 'ethics' and to work socialisation values but that they are not directly communicating values structural or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism. The findings from the teacher interviews also revealed that the teachers did not intend to directly transmit values that were structural to Anglo-American capitalism. Instead, it is apparent that the values observed being communicated by the teachers, are very similar in nature to those that some of the policy makers hoped would be transmitted across the whole curriculum; for example, relating to the creation of a 'rounded' individual.

It can therefore be concluded that this study has not produced any evidence to suggest that values intrinsic or structural to Anglo-American capitalism are directly being communicated to the students during their Business Studies lessons; for example, that profitability is the most important business objective. Furthermore, it can be argued that values structural to Anglo-American capitalism are not being directly transmitted down the Policy Chain: This is because the policy makers (with the exception of Policy Maker One) do not advocate their transmission; the teachers taking part in this study did not indicate that they intended to transmit values of this nature during their lessons and finally the lesson observations did not produced any evidence to suggest that the teachers were directly communicating values intrinsic or structural to Anglo- American capitalism.

However, it may be that the teachers' communications about profit were simply not observed i.e. the teachers may have been communicating values relating to profit maximisation (as this was part of the Business Studies syllabus) when lesson observations were not occurring. When reviewing the content of the AEB GCE Advanced Business Studies Syllabus for 1998 it is interesting to note how few direct references to profitability exist. For example, *Section 6.3 Business Objectives*, states the following with reference to corporate aims, mission and goals;

'Purpose of agreeing aims from which objectives can be derived: mission statements; target setting; management by objectives; business culture.' (p.34)

It can be seen from the above statement that there is no direct reference to profit maximisation as a business objective. Instead profit is 'touched upon' when concepts such as elasticity of demand, Profit and Loss Accounts, profitability ratios and '*identifying an opportunity*' when starting a small business are described in the syllabus. For example, the section (1.3) of the syllabus relating to the application of elasticity of demand states the following;

'Understanding the concept, the factors that determine it, the difficulties of calculating and using elasticity, its implications for revenue and profit (and therefore decision making' (p.23).

and the section on '*identifying an opportunity*' when starting a small firm (6.1);

'Small budget research and marketing; identifying a profitable product or service; protecting it (patents and copyright)' (p.33.)

Overall, it could be suggested that there is a general 'assumption' that the teacher or student reading the syllabus is aware of profit maximisation, as there are few specific references to the concept.

However, it can be suggested that the BTEC syllabus (1995) for the GNVQ Advanced course is more prescriptive in comparison to that of the 'A' level syllabus. For example, for *Element 2.1: Investigate business organisations*, the students are expected to, '*explain objectives of business organisations;*' the range for this performance criteria includes the following objectives;

'manufacturing, providing services, financial (profit, profit improvement, not-for-profit): market share, public service.' (p.23)

and element 6.4: *‘Explain basic pricing decisions and breakeven’* comprises the following performance criteria, *‘identify basic factors which determine price and describe related pricing strategies’* and the range that has to be covered for *‘basic factors’* is as follows;

‘need to make a profit, prices of competing products, under-used capacity.’
(p.44).

In the light of the above observations, it could be suggested that, as several of the teachers participating in this study have not been directly trained in Business Studies and in places the ‘A’ level Business Studies syllabus is rather vague when addressing the role or importance of profit maximisation in relation to the objectives of business organisations, that the teachers are focussing upon what they know and see of business from their own experience – hence profit is the focus; and this is being communicated to the students.

It could also be suggested that the textbooks that they read could have influenced the student’s knowledge of business values. For example, the main²⁹ ‘A’ level Business Studies textbook (Business Studies, Hall, Jones and Raffo, 1993), refers to profit maximisation as follows:

‘It is often argued that the main aim of private sector businesses is to maximise profits.’ (p.31)

and later;

‘Profit is the driving force in most businesses. There are few, if any, which attach no importance to making profit, the exceptions perhaps being charities.’
(p.293).

²⁹ The textbook which all of the ‘A’ level students had been issued with when they commenced the course.

Despite these ‘direct’ statements, the textbook as a whole provides little reference to profit maximisation; whereas the main³⁰ GNVQ Advanced textbook, (GNVQ Advanced Business, Second Edition, Lewis and Trevitt, 1995), refers to, profit and profit maximisation more frequently. For example, when referring to business objectives, the following is stated with reference to profit maximisation;

‘Traditionally, it has been assumed that all firms attempt to make the most profit they can i.e. to maximise profitability.’ (p.125)

However, when taken as a ‘whole’, the references to profitability are rare comprising a tiny element of the overall content of the textbook.

Alternatively, the students may have acquired their knowledge from other business texts; this might be particularly relevant to the GNVQ students as they have to conduct their own independent research in order to complete their set assignments.

Yet when reviewing the teacher interviews, the concept of profitability can be seen to have dominated their responses when they were considering the nature of business objectives and values. For example, Hugo, thought that the main objectives/values of businesses related to ‘target setting,’ being ‘ruthless’ and the creation of a ‘rat race;’ Amanda believed that the main aim of a business is to make a profit at the expense of other values; Georgiana felt that the values held by businesses related to making money; Melena implied that she considered businesses to be ‘immoral’ when she stated that her own personal values were more ‘moral’ than that of a business and Nick also said that he thought that the main value of a business was to make profit . As noted above, however, all of the teachers participating in this research expressed the opinion that they felt that their own personal values were different to those possessed by business organisations.

This finding is significant as it implies that the concept of ‘profitability’ is the ‘dominant’ business objective that is consistent with an Anglo-American view of the nature and purpose of capitalism. Therefore, *prima facie* it appears that the views held

³⁰ The textbook that was provided to all of the Advanced GNVQ students when they commenced their course.

by both the teachers and the students in relation to the values possessed by businesses are similar. This is because both the teachers and the students perceive profit to be a dominant business value/objective. Yet, as mentioned above, when the findings obtained during the lesson observations are reviewed there is no evidence to suggest that the majority of the teachers are communicating values/objectives related to, 'profitability'. It seems that the objective of profitability framed both teachers and students views of business but that it was a 'silent' premise in their thinking, or that communication in relation to this key point was not observed.

Table 8.1 shows the values that the teachers perceive themselves to be transmitting during lessons and those that they are actually observed communicating.

Table 8.1: –Value communication in Business Studies lessons

Teacher	Intension to transmit values.	‘Neutral’ in terms of value transmission.	Type of value being communicated.	Perceived success in transmitting desired values.
Hugo	Only those values specifically mentioned within the syllabus.		Work socialisation values and moral values (e.g. Doctors being paid more than nurses).	N/A
Amanda	Yes, although They did not believe that it was more or less important to transmit values in Business Studies lessons in comparison to other lessons.		Personal values i.e. to understand and ‘care’ for other members of the group. Work socialisation values.	Yes
Georgiana	Yes, ethical, social and people values.		Ethical values i.e. Ethical trading practices. Social values i.e. the ‘plight’ of farmers outside of Europe. People values i.e. The ‘exploitation’ of employees by paying them low wages Work socialisation values.	Not sure
Melena	Yes – Moral values.		Moral i.e. Ethical business practices. Caring. Work socialisation values.	Not sure – they do not consider it to be their role.
Nick		Yes –although tries to transmit educational values.	Work socialisation values e.g. to hand in homework on time.	Yes

It can, therefore, be concluded from the observations presented above, that the nature of the values the teachers considered businesses to have differed significantly from those that they actively tried to communicate during their lessons i.e. they distinguished between their own personal values and those that they perceived business organisations to possess. It could be assumed that this difference exists due to the 'neutral' or anti-business views held by the teachers and their desire to transmit values more in keeping with their own personal values rather than those they believed business organisations to possess. Here it should be noted that only one teacher had experience of business and that the others had not been specifically trained to teach Business Studies.

It was concluded that on the basis of the evidence presented that it appears that the formal educational process has played a minor role in the development and/or acquisition of values intrinsic or structural to Anglo-American capitalism by the students taking part in this study. There is one exception in relation to gender that is raised below. However it could be argued that education has played a major role in the communication of work socialisation values.

The policy makers felt that work socialisation values were important values that should be transmitted throughout the curriculum. And, it can be suggested that several of the values that were observed being communicated during Business Studies lessons, for example 'not to be late for lessons', to be 'quite when your teacher is talking' and to 'complete the given tasks/activities presented'; reflect the 'dominance and subordinacy' that exists within the hierarchical structure of the workplace i.e. the students are being prepared to conform to these values in the classroom, in preparation for the 'social relations' that are present within the British economy i.e. an economy which reflects Anglo-American capitalism. Bowles and Gintis (1976) referred to this form of value communication as the 'Correspondence Principle.'

2.1. The students ability to distinguish between their own personal values and business values.

It is suggested that the majority of the students participating in this study are able to distinguish between their own personal values and those values that they perceive business organisations to possess. This ability has enabled the students to adopt sophisticated reasoning techniques during the focus group sessions and also when considering the scenarios that were presented to them. This is because they would often consider the action or decision that they would personally advocate and that which they perceived as being favourable to business organisations i.e. the action that a business practicing values intrinsic or structural to Anglo-American capitalism would expect their employees to take. For example, Anne, a member of Focus Group E, commented as follows when considering the BJ Scenario during the fourth phase of the research (March 2001).

'You will make money in ten years, you are helping people who will not be able to afford to go private and they will be relatively cheap so that everybody who has cancer will be able to afford them.' (Anne)

It is evident from the statement above that Anne is able to distinguish between her own personal ethics and those of the business or system.

Furthermore, the evidence obtained during this study suggests that values are not being communicated or received uniformly between the different classes. For example, the research revealed that Class One does not believe that business values are being transmitted during their lessons and Hugo, their teacher stated in his one-to-one interview that he does not try to transmit values during his lessons. Class Two feels that business values are being transmitted in the form of business ethics, this view was substantiated during the one-to-one interview with their teacher Georgiana as she said that she tried to teach ethical, social and people values. Class Three believe that business values are being transmitted to them; their teacher Amanda stated in her one-to-one interview that she tried hard to teach the students the content of the course and also to transmit values related to personal issues, understanding, caring, respect and listening skills. Class Four does not believe they are being taught about values, this

view was supported during the one-to-one interview with their teacher, Melena, as she stated that she did not believe that it was her 'job' to transmit values. The only values that were observed being communicated uniformly across all of the classes related to work socialisation.

When the values relating to business are considered down the policy chain it is clear that the views of Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Apple (1990) do not in any straightforward sense apply. There is no sense in which one set of values is being transmitted down the policy chain to students. Where then, do they get the dominant opinion as to the importance of profit?

2.2. The relationship between the students' part-time jobs and their knowledge of values structural or intrinsic to Anglo-American capitalism.

Given that the processes leading to the framing of profit as the central business objective have not been identified within the educational context, the question therefore arises as to how the students, acquired and developed their knowledge of values that are intrinsic or structural to Anglo-American capitalism.

This study does provide evidence to suggest that the part-time jobs carried out by the students has influenced their views of business values. For example, ninety-one percent of the students participating in this study have part-time jobs. On several occasions during the course of this research, particularly in the focus group research, the students would refer to the values held by the organisation that they were employed by i.e. Tesco and it is significant to note that four out of the five focus groups concluded that their part-time jobs had influenced their knowledge of business values. The statement detailed below provides evidence to suggest that the part-time jobs held by the students influence their views on customer service being associated with the business objective of profitability (Focus Group E, Phase Five Research):

'I suppose at work – we have our objective to create customer loyalty and value at Tesco – it is plastered everywhere.'

It can be concluded that the part-time jobs held by the students appears to be one of the most significant factors that has influenced their perceptions of business values. The implication of this finding is that those students studying Business Studies that do not possess a part-time job may find themselves slightly disadvantaged; this is because they will not possess such a broad knowledge of business values as their peers with part-time jobs. A further implication of this finding is that it can be argued that in terms of 'educating' the students in Business Studies a shift has occurred from that of the formal Public Sector to the informal Private Sector.

3. Are there differences in gender in terms of the business values held by students?

The literature suggests that there are differences between the moral reasoning of men and women. Kohlberg (1958,1981) argued that the highest form of moral reasoning related to concepts of justice and fairness, while Gilligan (1982), argued that there are gender differences in moral reasoning and that women are more likely to take into account the wider context, while focusing on caring in the making of moral decisions. As discussed above it was difficult to identify clear gender differences in this study. However one finding can be considered which would qualify Gilligan's account with respect to women: whilst female respondents are capable of adopting a 'caring' and sympathetic approach to the decision making process as suggested by Gilligan, (1982) they also take into account a more 'official' approach which at times appeared to conflict with the caring approach in their thinking. It can be argued, from the evidence presented, that this official approach reflects the context of the decision making process; i.e. the woman's perception of what constitutes the 'right' decision to make bearing in mind the constraints or boundaries that are present within the business organisation. As one of the female students³¹ participating in this research pointed out:

³¹ This also applied to the female teachers who could communicate 'personal values' *and* express the 'Official Line.' For example, despite being able to communicate values related to 'caring' they could also communicate values that reflected the context of the decision making process i.e. British capitalism. This is because although the female teachers may hold a different personal view, they were able to adopt two personalities – an 'official' personality and a 'personal' personality.

'Because I am working and being paid by my employers, I cannot let my personal loyalties cloud my judgement in making a decision which will secure the long-term future of the business and the rest of the workforce.'

What this finding suggests is that Gilligan's conclusions may need to be qualified with respect to the context in which judgements are made and the stakes and interests involved.

A further point to make is that, as has been shown, the women teachers in particular stressed values related to caring and this raises the question as to the relationship between their espoused and practiced values and their influence on the students. Here it seems that while the women teachers could express caring values, when confronted with ethical dilemmas some of the women students were caught between caring and loyalty to the company.

Conclusion

To summarise it can be argued that the part played by education (both the hidden and overt curriculum) in the student's development and acquisition of views/opinions relating to the values possessed by business organisations is limited. By referring to the *'Typology Of Values That Could Be Communicated In Business Studies Lessons'* (see Chapter One for more detailed information relating to this typology), the following methods were used, by the teachers, to communicate values during this study:

The first element of the typology (i) indicates that values can be communicated: *Where teachers would raise questions of ethics in relation to business practices for the students to consider. This may be seen as a liberal interpretation of education in which values are raised and discussed but where the teacher does not seek to influence students' views. In a sense this can be seen as having a 'neutral' view as to value issues on the grounds that stating a preference may be seen as a form of bias. However, in the light of the discussion above it is only neutral in that the economic context is taken as a given.*

It could be argued that the nature of this form of value communication could be difficult to assess given the research methods used during this study. This is because it may take the form of ‘silence’. This silence might be accounted for in one of three ways, either the teacher does not express an opinion as they desire to remain ‘neutral’; the teacher does not express an opinion as they assume that the statement made or the context of the statement is taken as ‘given’ or the teacher may not be expressing an opinion as they do not possess one relating to the subject. The research methodology used in this study does not easily permit a distinction to be sought between these varying explanations – this is because the teachers were not interviewed after the lesson observations in order to assess the motivation behind the nature of the values communicated during the lesson.

As regards (ii): *Where value issues, which could have been raised, are not i.e. there is silence or a tacit assumption that, for example the capitalist system or a market approach to the public sector was taken as a given:* The question of the dominant business objective of profitability can be argued to be one aspect of this silence; while the teachers talked about profitability it was not directly observed being taught or ‘transmitted’ in their lessons. But there was a related example, when Hugo was teaching a lesson about the advantages and disadvantages of the public sector; during this lesson he could have held a debate and communicated values relating to the advantages and disadvantages of the public sector. However, the implication of the lesson was that a market, which was competitive, was likely to produce ‘superior outcomes’.

Element (iii) of the typology was observed being practised by Georgiana - *‘Where a teacher states her/his own value preferences but does not seek to convince others. Here again this can be seen as a teacher not behaving in a neutral way but where there is recognition that it is more ‘honest’ perhaps to express views because students will assume that teachers have a value position’.* For example, Georgiana placed information onto the white board concerning wastage created by M&S but did not ‘verbally’ try to influence the student’s views or values relating to this subject i.e. she did not try to communicate to the students that competition can create wastage.

Amanda and Melena were observed making, ‘a *direct attempt at transmitting or inculcating values*’; this method of communication corresponds with element (iv) of the typology. The communication of this element of the typology is reflected in both the espoused values of the teachers and also values in practice. For example, when Melena’s lesson was observed on the 21st June 2000, the ethical issues surrounding the setting up of businesses were being considered and she came very ‘close’ to trying to influence the student’s values when she commented as follows (espoused values):

‘People trying to exploit other people’s business success and it is not fair.’

Additionally, it can be suggested that Amanda was making a direct attempt to communicate values related to the concept of ‘caring’ as she often sat next to the students, leaned towards them and appeared genuinely interested in what they were doing and the progress of their assignments (values in practice).

Finally element (v) was the only part of the typology that was observed being practiced by all of the teachers taking part in this study – *‘Where values are embedded in routine practices such as those relating to classroom management that may be form of discipline that readies students for the workforce. Such values will be referred to as work socialisation values’*. And such values were clearly being communicated as shown in the discussion above.

Reflections on Methodology

By careful planning the research methods and techniques that were to be utilised during this study (see the Research Methodology) bearing in mind; the research objectives, any time constraints upon the research process i.e. the research needed to span the duration of the students ‘A’ level or GNVQ course programmes and by adhering to these plans throughout the research process; it was anticipated that rich data could be generated, which could be used to formulate detailed and relevant conclusions and hypothesis.

However, despite these intensions, it can be argued that this study can be criticised on the following grounds:

a) The difficulties of researching values

It will be apparent that researching values in a way in which definitive conclusions can be arrived at is difficult if not impossible. A multi method approach was adopted in order to enable different approaches to be taken to a difficult area. It will have been clear throughout the empirical chapters of this thesis that the way questions are formulated and asked can have a bearing on the answers given and where possible an indication of how the questions were asked may have influenced the answers was given. In using focus groups and scenarios students were given the opportunity to reflect and consider their views and this presents something of a moving target as they may change their minds or come to what may be tentative conclusions –as we have seen.

It must also be noted that, although some of the questions posed to the focus groups may have appeared leading; for example, during the second phase of the study when Focus Group A were considering the ‘Mary’ scenario, they were asked the following question;

‘Instead of talking to Mary on her own could you get a group of you to do it?’

this was often the intension of the researcher; as the level of conviction that the students possessed in their final decision when resolving the dilemmas was being tested i.e. did the students alter their response or ‘change’ their mind when an alternative solution was suggested – see the Research Methodology for more detail. The longitudinal element of this research was an attempt to see if consistency in their views could be identified.

A further point is that in a small scale study of this kind the conclusions drawn, as for example in terms of the influences which brought many of the students to think that profit was the dominant business objective, framed within an Anglo-American perspective must be tentative. This is because, for example, lesson observations could

not cover all lessons and there may have been communication on this point that was not observed.

The findings that have been documented relate to two colleges and particular groups of students and their teachers. The findings cannot, therefore, be seen as representative of a wider group, such as the general population of A-level or GNVQ students in any sense. However, in addition to some tentative findings this study has raised further questions for further research in an area that is important but under researched.

It must also be said that the findings may be time bound. If this research was undertaken now at the time of the credit crunch and financial recession, when the Anglo-American model of capitalism seems to be threatened different results may emerge. Nevertheless the questions for further research may still be relevant.

b) The sample size

Due to the nature of this research i.e. it was longitudinal, this study experienced sample mortality. Several of the students that initially decided to study the subject (both 'A' level and GNVQ) 'dropped out' and often students were ill during the research process. For example, during the first phase of the quantitative research there were 58 respondents and during the final phase 34. This resulted in the findings generated from quantitative research being used more as a 'device' against which any ambiguities presented during the focus group research could be compared and contrasted, rather than as data which could be used as a source of discrete information. It could therefore be argued that had the sample size remained constant throughout the study (58 respondents) the quantitative research findings would have been more valid and, even if only being used as a comparison or a 'device' for raising questions which could subsequently be answered from the focus group research findings, would potentially have been more representative of the entire population.

c) Interpretation and consistency

Overall, it was hoped that by following strict procedures, that are outlined in the research methodology; for example during the lesson observations check sheets were utilised in order to apply consistency to the observation process and to enable the

researcher to focus upon specific elements of the lesson rather than adopting a different approach to each lesson observed and by following a pre-determined pattern of questioning (although the questions may have varied slightly between the different groups depending upon the flow of the discussion) during the scenario research (see research methodology for more detail) that any major inconsistencies and differences in consistency and interpretation have been eliminated.

d) Group Dynamics

Despite the desire to obtain unbiased and representative findings it was apparent that the dynamics of the focus groups conducted with Focus Groups D and E from Class Three (see Chapter Seven for more detail) may have ‘tainted’ the findings in that the group dynamic may have led the group to these anti-American views rather than being a view held by each member of the group, who had they been interviewed on their own may have expressed a different view.

e) Gender bias

It was evident when reviewing the findings obtained during this study that gender bias may have occurred. For example, when Focus Group C were discussing the scenario entitled ‘Mary’ on the 19th March 2001; the group comprised only male students and therefore a very ‘harsh’ and ‘unsympathic’ approach was adopted when resolving the dilemma – had there been female students present the outcome may have differed.

f) Time constraints

Several time constraints were apparent during this research. The research needed to be completed over a two year period i.e. the duration of the ‘A’ level or GNVQ Advanced course – this meant that if any ambiguities arose during the final phases of the research the researcher did not have the opportunity to clarify the findings as the students were on ‘bloc’ release. Due to the intensive nature of the lesson programmes and schedules the researcher did not have unlimited amounts of time available for the research process – therefore on some occasions during the scenario research the researcher was conscious of the given time constraints and therefore was unable to ‘probe’ individuals more deeply during discussions. As a consequence the clarity of some of the data obtained may have been jeopardised.

g) More detailed analysis

If this study or a study of a similar nature were to be conducted again the researcher would endeavour to account for the gender of the respondents throughout the entire research process. This is because during this research process the researcher took the view that if too many questions of a personal nature were included in the questionnaires i.e. asking them their names or for their gender, it would affect the response rate. As a result questions of this nature were omitted from the first questionnaire; the researcher has subsequently regretted this decision, as the quantitative research could not be used as a source of reference in relation to gender differences over time.

h) Stability of the student's ethical positions

When reading this thesis it is evident that the data for each class has been taken from different phases of the research in order to explain the specific theme that is being addressed. This has been possible, as despite the longitudinal nature of the study, the views of the students in terms of values have remained relatively stable; for example the response provided by Focus Group D when considering the 'BJ' scenario is very similar during both the second (July 2000) and fourth phase (March 2001) of the study (see Chapter Seven for more detail). It could be suggested that the reason for these similar value positions is that the students have been 'dipping' in and out of the questionnaires and focus groups and hence they might by and large be providing off the cuff responses or indeed that their ethical values do not change over time. Further research is required in order to assess the stability of ethical positions over time.

i) Control and Monitoring

On several occasions during the quantitative research the teachers taking part in this study distributed the questionnaires. Due to the researchers reliance on these teachers i.e. they were an integral part of the research and their cooperation was needed for the entire study – it was often difficult to impose 'tight' control on them – for fear of 'upsetting' them. For example, the researcher did not believe that she could ask the teachers to check that all of the respondents in their classes had completed every single question on the questionnaires before they handed them in or too chase up students who were absent on the day of the research and ask them to complete the questions at a

later date. This may have impacted upon the sample sizes with the consequence that the quantitative research could not be used to formulate discrete conclusions.

Questions for further research

1. Is the 'lack' of trust expressed by the students during this study specifically 'reserved' for business organisations or are they demonstrating the possession of a more 'general' lack of trust?
2. Is there a connection between 'lack of trust' and short-termism in the Anglo-American form of capitalism and its influence on the wider society?
3. If asked directly would students take the 'side' of their employer rather than their colleagues?
4. The male respondents, typically, appeared more 'willing', than the female respondents, to sacrifice their own personal values in preference to those held by their employer (if the financial gain is significant); even if the values practiced by the business organisation conflict with their own 'personal' values. Would this view alter once they have experience of full time employment?
5. What is the relationship between the female teachers espoused and practiced values and their influence of the students?
6. Are the students who do not possess a part-time job disadvantaged when studying for an 'A' level or a GNVQ in Business Studies?
7. Is the scepticism that the students taking part in this research expressed at the activities conducted by business organisations representative of society as a whole?
8. Are students equally sceptical of American and British business organisations?

9. How stable are the ethical positions of students and in particular their views about profit?

Appendix One continued – Student Questionnaires.

Phase Three Research, Student Questions, November 2000

Name.....

Class/Pool.....

1. What would you like to do when you leave College?
2. List as many business objectives as you can.
3. Which objective that you mentioned above would you consider to be most important?
- 3a) Why do you believe that this is the most important business objective?
4. What do you believe is meant by the term 'value'?
5. List as many business values as you can?
6. Are business values taught on your 'A' level or GNVQ Business Studies Course?
- 6a) If so what are they?
- 6b) If not, how were you able to answer question 5?

Thank you for your help in completing this questionnaire.

Appendix One continued – Student Questionnaires

Phase Five Research, Student Questions, April/May 2001

<u>Name</u>	<u>Class/Pool</u>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are you intending to do when you leave College? 2. Has studying Business Studies influenced what you are intending to do when you leave College? Please tick the appropriate answer. <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> Yes No </div> 3. If you answered Yes to question 2, <i>how</i> has studying Business Studies influenced what you are intending to do when you leave College? 4. List as many business objectives as you can. 5. Which business objective that you mentioned above would you consider to be most important? 5a) Why do you believe that this is the most important business objective? 6. What do you believe is meant by the term ‘value’? 7. List as many business values as you can? 8. Why do you believe business have values and create Value Statements’? <i>(A Value Statement is a list of the businesses values)</i> 9. When you commence your first full-time job, will you abide by the business values held by your employer? <i>Explain your answer fully.</i> 10. Are business values taught on your ‘A’ level or GNVQ Business Studies course? 10a) If so what are they? 10b) If not, how were you able to answer question 7? 	

Appendix Two - Teacher interview questions.**Values In Business Studies****Staff Interview Questions - Phase One**

1. Why did you decide to teach Business Studies?
2. How long have you been teaching 'A' level or GNVQ Business Studies?
3. When teaching Business Studies, what is your main objective?
4. Do you believe that the transmission of 'values' is important when teaching Business Studies?
5. When teaching Business Studies do you try to transmit any form of 'values' to the students?
 - 5a) If yes, what values do you try to transmit?
 - 5b) If no, why not?
6. How do you transmit values in your Business Studies classes?
7. Do you believe that you are successful in transmitting them?
 - 7a) Why?
8. To what extent do you believe that your values are consistent with the values of businesses?
9. Do you believe that the values held by students are important to their success or failure when answering exam questions?

Thank you for your help.
13/02/2000

Appendix Three – Policy maker questions.**Outline of policy maker questions**

- 1) How do you believe Business Studies fits into the overall curriculum, what role does it play?
- 2) Do you consider Business Studies 'A' level to be more important than other, more traditional 'A' levels, given the movement towards a global economy?
- 3) What 'values' do you believe should be transmitted through the 'A' level Business Studies syllabus?
- 4) What business values do you believe are being transmitted during an 'A' level Business Studies lesson?
- 5) What 'values' do you believe should be transmitted through the curriculum in general; do you consider this when you comment upon the curriculum?
- 6) What do you consider to be business values?
- 7) Do you believe that the 'values' transmitted through business education are similar to the 'values' held by businesses?

Appendix Four - Observation 'Check Sheet'.

<u>Observation 'Check Sheet'</u>	
<u>Name of teacher</u>	<u>Length of lesson and date</u>
1. Subject, objectives and content of lesson.	
2. Teacher transmission of values -	
a) Verbally – question and answers, discussions, factual information with examples.	
b) Body language	
c) Expectations, standards, rules.	
Observing three students: -	
Student on-task behaviour	b) Talking to teacher on task. c) Talking to peer on task. d) Completing task. e) Other.
Student off-task behaviour	b) Talking to teacher off-task. c) Talking to peer off-task. d) Not completing task. e) Other.

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